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News Review

Reports from Tibet, 1997

Culture and Language

Propaganda

Re-education and Religion

Arrests, Security and Politics

Development and Economy

Environment and Disasters

Outside Tibet

Tibet Information Network
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1998

No.
26



News Review Reports from Tibet, 1997

Tibet Information Network
London 1998

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ISSN: 1355-5650

Printed in London, England
Published by Tibet Information Network (TIN), April 1998

"News Review: Reports from Tibet, 1997" is TIN News Review No. 26

TIN: City Cloisters, 188-196 Old Street, London EC1V 9FR, UK
Tel: (+44) 171 814 9011
Fax: (+44) 171 814 9015
E-mail: tin@tibetinfo.net
Web site: www.tibetinfo.net

TIN USA: PO Box 2270, Jackson, Wyoming, WY83001, USA
Tel: (+1) 307 733 4670
Fax: (+1) 307 739 2501
E-mail: tinusa@wyoming.com

Tibet Information Network

The Tibet Information Network (TIN) is an independent news and research service that collects and distributes information about what is happening in Tibet. TIN monitors social, economic, political, environmental, and human rights conditions in Tibet and then publishes the information in an easily accessible form. It collects its information by using sources inside and outside Tibet, by conducting projects among refugees, and by monitoring established Chinese and international sources.

TIN aims to present information that is accurate, reliable, and free from bias. Its material is available to subscribers who, in return for an annual fee, receive news and research publications. The service is used by individuals and institutions, including journalists, governments, academics, China-watchers, and human rights organisations. TIN was started in 1987 and is based in London. It has no political affiliations or objectives and endeavours to provide a reliable and dispassionate news service for an area of increasing significance.

TIN services include: News Updates providing detailed coverage of news events; Background Briefing Papers on key social and political issues; full texts of key interviews and original documents; translations of articles from Tibetan newspapers; and briefings for delegations and analysts. A selection of TIN information is translated into Tibetan, Japanese, German, French, and Danish. TIN's office in the U.S. distributes information to subscribers in North America.

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Introduction

Tibet in 1997: Wealthier Towns, Stronger Control

China showed in 1997 that it could survive the death of a "paramount leader" without a succession crisis: when Deng Xiaoping finally passed away in February there was no sign of unrest or instability. Predictions of increased repression after Hong Kong reverted to the mainland in July also turned out to be unfounded: the Party and the security forces made few open moves to show their control of their new territory.

By the end of the year, when the 15th Party Congress approved a drive to restructure the state enterprises and accelerate the development of the private sector of the economy, some tentative signs of political relaxation had begun to emerge, with Chinese dissidents giving interviews from within China to western radio stations in which they called for reform and, remarkably, for Beijing to negotiate with the Dalai Lama. In the West, governments in Europe and North America showed that they were impressed by these signs, and in October President Jiang Zemin was able to secure a summit meeting with the US President; in return China agreed to sign the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, released the leading dissident Wei Jingsheng and invited more foreign dignitaries to visit prisons. In the eyes of the international community China strengthened its position as a major world power with a stable and predictable government.

In Tibet the local authorities showed stability of a different kind: the sustaining of a political system geared mainly towards the suppression of dissent. All the great events of the year - the funeral ceremonies for Deng, the celebration of the Hong Kong hand-over, and the tenth anniversary of the 1987 demonstrations - passed off without incident. Neither were there any reports of public demonstrations calling for independence, or any bombs or attempts at sabotage, as there had been in the previous two years. But political conditions in Tibet remained as severe and uncompromising as during the previous two years.

The stern approach to policy in Tibet was signalled by the sentencing in May of the former abbot of Tashilhunpo to six years in prison for "betraying state secrets". (The abbot had written to the

exiled Dalai Lama about searching for the reincarnation of the 10th Panchen Lama). At the same time the authorities declared that not only was the programme to re-educate all monks and nuns to be continued from the previous year but that it was also to be a principal objective of the regional government's work programme for the year and a task which all cadres and officials were required to carry out as a priority. By the end of the year some 30,000 monks and nuns in the Tibet Autonomous Region (the "TAR"), about two thirds of the total, had been given "education in patriotism" and in October there were unofficial reports that re-education teams had started work in the Tibet monasteries in Amdo (Qinghai and Gansu).

Even foreigners felt the effects of the hard-line policies: three of the long-term foreign aid workers in Lhasa found unexplained difficulties in getting their work permits renewed, and individual travellers found that since June 1997 the border between Tibet and Nepal had been closed for the first time in some fifteen years, although it remained open to groups of tourists. Furthermore, in their final meeting of the year (the "Third Plenary of the Fifth TAR Party Committee"), the region's Party chiefs indicated repeatedly that there would be a significant increase in the number of Chinese entrepreneurs and traders being brought into Tibet - a development which most Tibetans appear to regard as the most serious threat among all the consequences of Chinese policy and increased modernisation.

About half of the 2,200 Tibetans who sought refuge in India in 1997 were monks and nuns, and many of them reported that in some areas small boycotts or protests had been staged against the re-education teams. The results of the operation were nevertheless described by the authorities as "very good" and in November it was announced that the campaign would be extended to include the entire lay community of the Tibet Autonomous Region. The decision contradicted earlier reports by officials of a relaxation in the re-education programme; it also identified Tibet as on a different trajectory from inland China, where control, ideological struggle and suppression appear to be secondary to economic

development.

Speeches and publications in 1997 were dominated by continued and repeated denunciations of the Dalai Lama and lengthy articles were issued accusing him of blasphemy and of being in thrall to western powers. Until early 1995 the exiled leader had been criticised only for his political views, but the new policy in Tibet decreed that his religious position should also be attacked, as part of the overall effort to "adapt Buddhism to socialism".

In July 1997 a new element appeared in the speeches of politicians in Tibet: attacks on intellectuals and on Tibetan culture. Party Secretary Chen Kuiyuan's description in July of Buddhism as a "foreign import" to Tibet was seen as unusually provocative, and his explicit attacks on Chadrin Rinpoche and various unnamed "hidden reactionaries" among intellectuals provided unexpectedly clear confirmation that Tibetan studies, language and culture were now being targeted by the Party as potential hot-beds of dissent. There were continuing reports that the Tibetan department at the University of Tibet accepted no new students for the year 1996-97, and that all text books for its courses are being revised in the effort to remove anything that might stimulate Tibetan nationalism.

As part of its justification of the new policies, which were first promulgated at a meeting in July 1994 called the Third Forum on Work in Tibet, the Party repeatedly announced that there had been continuing incidents of pro-independence unrest in rural areas and among young people. Officials gave no details of such incidents and few reports of rural unrest reached the outside world, apparently because the security services have further improved control of the flow of information in and out of the region. The lack of information is partly a result of the frustration and isolation among political activists, and partly a result of official policy. For example, despite frequent requests from western governments concerning the whereabouts of Ngawang Choephel, the exile Tibetan music student sentenced to 18 years in prison after visiting his home country in 1995, there has been no word about him from the authorities.

One group of Tibetans has been prospering, however: urban entrepreneurs. Living standards improved greatly for those who had been able to invest in small businesses and by the start of 1997 the average annual income for town-dwellers in Tibet had overtaken the national average in Chinese cities, although rural Tibetans remain poor. Nonetheless, the new economic boom in the towns may be shortlived: it is fuelled by very cheap bank loans, which the state may not be able to continue to finance, especially after the collapse of other Asian economies. In addition, the small businesses upon which the wealth of this new elite is based are, according to casual observers, mainly karaoke bars, restaurants and (in some cases) brothels - an insubstantial basis for economic growth. It is clear that China has ambitious plans

for the Tibetan economy apart from the tertiary sector. Many of these plans concern improvements to agriculture and animal husbandry, which were severely hit in the winter of 1997-98 in many areas of the Tibetan plateau by catastrophic storms and low temperatures. In addition there are long-term indications that China will develop mining in Tibet in a major way. In October it announced the discovery of large oil reserves in the north of Tibet, as well as substantial amounts of copper in the Yulong area, near Chamdo, in the east, and a "large" gold mine in an undisclosed area. Large-scale exploitation may have to wait until basic infrastructure has been built. So far the investment in Tibet seems to have focused on power (the hydropower project at Yamdrok Tso finally started producing power in September 1997, ending the chronic power shortage in

Lhasa) and telecommunications, which are now advanced in the region.

The economic boom that has been created in the cities has enabled the current leaders to maintain their positions, despite their unpopularity and despite clear signs of factional in-fighting within the regional Party committee. The only major new appointment in the year was that of Jampa Phuntsog, who was made Party Secretary in the city of Lhasa. His former position as governor of Lhokha Prefecture had already been taken over by a Chinese cadre, Hu Chunhua; previous prefectural heads have been Tibetans. The appointment suggested that the warnings by Party leaders at the Third Plenary of more Chinese involvement in the region will involve the administration as well as the economy.

1. Culture & Language

Summary

During 1997 there were indications of a continuing shift away from the early 1980s policy of encouraging Tibetan writing, art and language use, first detected during 1996. In April, Deputy Party Secretary Tenzin announced a "reversal" of part of the 1987 education policy which had promoted a Tibetan medium education system for Tibetans. The 1987 policy stipulated, among other things, that Tibetan should be the language of instruction for Tibetans at primary level and that they should only begin to learn Chinese language from the age of nine. However, Tenzin's announcement indicated that henceforth Tibetan children would begin Chinese language classes from the first grade of primary school. The change was made against the findings of two recent official pilot projects, the first of which showed that Tibetan children achieved better results if they mastered Tibetan before beginning to learn Chinese; the second indicated that underachievement among Tibetans at secondary level was due to the fact that secondary education is taught in Chinese. Although, in January 1998, Xinhua reported a TAR Regional People's Congress regulation which made Tibetan the language of instruction at primary and secondary level, apart from in

vocational schools, the report acknowledged that there were not the resources available to implement the regulation. Also in April, unofficial sources reported that the TAR Guiding Committee on Spoken and Written Tibetan had been disbanded late in 1996. In June, news emerged of the demolition of the Tromsikhang Palace, which was built in the seventeenth century and was regarded as one of the most important historic buildings remaining in Lhasa. However, it was also reported that the façade of the palace would be preserved.

Confirmation of the shift in policy came in Party Secretary Chen Kuiyuan's speech of 18th June to the TAR Party Committee, in which he attacked moderates who criticised the current policy on Tibetan culture. He spoke of culture and education being used by the "Dalai clique and splittists" as a form of political attack, and indicated that there should be no distinctions between Tibet and inland China in policies and in economic and social development. In a further speech of 11th July, launching the TAR version of a nation-wide campaign to "promote and prosper socialist literature with Chinese characteristics", Chen argued that Buddhism was a "foreign culture" and attacked resistance to Chinese cultur-

al influence in Tibet. Implementation of the spiritual civilisation campaign, which was stepped up in July 1996, continued during 1997; the indications are that it will also continue during 1998. In November Chen extended his criticisms to include "hidden reactionaries" such as Chadrel Rinpoche, head of the search team for the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, who had been given a 6 year prison sentence in May for giving "state secrets" to the exiled Dalai Lama. The criticism appears to have been aimed at other, unnamed intellectuals and cultural figures in Tibet who secretly support the Dalai Lama.

Four leading religious and intellectual figures died during the year: Gen Lamrim, a lama who was one of the most famous Buddhist teachers in Central Tibet, at the age of 75, and Dungkar Lobsang Trinley, regarded by Tibetans as one of the "Three Great Scholars" of post-Cultural Revolution Tibet and by China as a "national treasure", who died from cancer. Geshe Yeshe Wangchug, who became in 1986 the first Tibetan to be awarded the degree of Geshe Lharampa since the Chinese take-over, died in a car crash, and Tenzin Jigme, the 6th Retring Rinpoche, the reincarnation of a former Regent of Tibet, died in February.

Policy Shift in Teaching in Tibet

TIN News Update/6 May, 1997; revised April 1998

The authorities in Tibet are to introduce Chinese language study from the first year of schooling, according to an official announcement in April 1997. The move follows the abandonment in 1996 of a pilot project which extended Tibetan medium education for Tibetans into secondary schooling. It also goes against the findings of a recent primary education research project which suggested that Tibetan children who mastered their mother-tongue first would subsequently achieve greater success in other subjects, including Chinese. That research report recommended that Tibetan children start by mastering Tibetan; and then gradually learn the Chinese phonetic alphabet, other subjects and finally Chinese characters. The decision to introduce Chinese from the start of primary school coincides with unconfirmed reports that the TAR Government committee overseeing Tibetan language development has been closed down.

The announcement about the early introduction of Chinese in schools, which will be supported by many Tibetans for pragmatic reasons, was seen by some observers as an indication that attempts to develop a Tibetan medium education system were being abandoned.

The decision was described by a senior Party official as reversing part of a set of regulations on Tibetan language passed in 1987. The 1987 legislation promised to set up Tibetan-medium junior secondary schools in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) by 1993 and to have "most" university courses available in Tibetan shortly after the year 2000, but these plans have not been implemented. The decision to begin what is termed as "bilingual" education in primary schools implies that the 1987 policy may have been abandoned.

The change in primary education was announced on 17th April by Tenzin, a deputy secretary of the TAR Communist Party, during a meeting with the US Ambassador to China, James Sasser, who was on a two day visit to the TAR.

The 1987 decision to "allow grade 1-3 boys and girls to be taught only in the Tibetan language will do no good to their children's growth", announced Tenzin, according to a Xinhua report. He described the 1987 policy as "impractical" and "not in conformity with the reality of Tibet".

"Thus the regional government has reversed its decision made in 1987,"

Deputy Secretary Tenzin said. "As a result, both Tibetan and Chinese languages are being taught at school in the autonomous region," he told the US Ambassador.

Until now Tibetan children have been taught in their own language from the age of six until they are thirteen, learning Chinese only from the age of nine. Those who go on to a middle school have to switch to Chinese medium for the rest of their school careers, other than in a few specialised Tibetan middle schools outside the TAR. The mid-stream change in the language of instruction, a result of the non-implementation of the 1987 legislation, has led to widespread under-achievement among Tibetans in secondary and higher education.

Last year the Chinese authorities in Tibet unexpectedly ended four experimental classes in Tibetan-medium educa-

bilingual teachers out of a total of around 15,000 and "only 0.58 per cent of primary schools in Tibet use Chinese as their instructing language".

In previous statements Deputy Secretary Tenzin, a former journalist and one of the few top leaders who is proficient in both Tibetan and Chinese, had supported the 1987 legislation which prioritised Tibetan language. Tenzin has responsibility for education and propaganda in the regional party committee, but may have been chosen to announce the change to deter him from distancing himself from any underlying policy shift.

Many Tibetans, including nationalists, accept the need to include Chinese from the first year of schooling because Tibetans now find it hard to get work or to progress in further education without proficiency in Chinese. However, the 1997 proposal to increase Chinese in primary



Above, Tibetan primary school students

tion in secondary schools. The Tibetan medium classes, which had been highly successful, were abandoned in favour of further development of experimental classes in bilingual education in selected primary schools, where both Tibetan and Chinese are taught.

The new announcement could mean that the bilingual experiment will become standard policy and some classes in primary school may be taught in Chinese. However, at the moment there are not thought to be enough Chinese-speaking teachers in Tibet to implement such a policy outside Tibetan towns. So far, according to an official statement carried by Xinhua on 18 January 1998, Tibet has 360

education rather than to extend Tibetan medium teaching into secondary education in effect signifies a reversal of the plans laid out in the 1987 "Provisions on the Study, Use and Development of the Tibetan language".

Language Committee "Closed Down"

Since October 1995 the Tibet Communist Party is rumoured to have decided that the use of Tibetan language is linked to the pro-independence movement, overruling earlier arguments which held that Tibetan is essential for economic development and for the dissemination of government policies.

"The work relating to the Tibetan language is not only an issue of implementing policy, but is an important condition in leading the people on the road of prosperity through constructing Tibet's four modernisations, and it has great present and future significance," Tenzin told a meeting of the TAR Guiding Committee on Spoken and Written Tibetan in March 1993. "There was conclusive evidence that nothing could substitute the effect of using Tibetan language to raise educational quality and to improve the nationality's cultural level," he added.

The TAR Guiding Committee, set up to oversee implementation of the 1987 Regulations, was reported last week to have been disbanded late last year, according to an unofficial source. Senior staff on the Committee have been transferred to the Regional Translation Bureau, said the source.

Earlier reports had said only that the Committee had been downgraded from regional to county level. At least one regional level office - the TAR Agricultural Department - has closed down its translation section, according to a separate source, prompting concern that

in the future some documents will be issued only in Chinese.

The "Regulations on the Study, Use and Development of the Tibetan Language" were passed by the TAR Congress in 1987 and promulgated in March 1989. The Regulations stipulated that by 1993 all new junior middle school students - those aged from 13 to 15 - should be taught in Tibetan; by 1997 most lessons in senior middle schools and technical secondary schools should be in Tibetan; and "after the year 2000" most lectures in tertiary institutions should "gradually" be in Tibetan, according to a Xinhua report in March 1989.

The Regulations also said that Tibetans must speak in Tibetan at important, large-scale meetings, that proficiency in Tibetan should be one of the qualifications for recruitment and promotion in government jobs, that by the end of 1990 all official communications should be written "primarily" in Tibetan, that all official seals, certificates and sign-boards must be written in both Tibetan and Chinese, and that the public should have the right to use Tibetan in judicial, procuratorial and police proceedings. Only the

last two requirements have been implemented.

In July 1988 Tibetan was declared to be the official language of Tibet and in 1989 four experimental Tibetan-medium classes were established by the Panchen Lama in secondary schools in central Tibet. By 1995 the pass rate for students in the four experimental classes was twice that of Tibetan children learning in Chinese, and in the same year a report by the TAR Education Committee called for the gradual expansion of Tibetan medium education into rural secondary schools. The experimental project was dissolved in 1996 on the grounds that there was a general lack of teachers qualified to teach in Tibetan.

In his meeting with the US Ambassador, Deputy Secretary Tenzin noted that primary and middle schools in Tibet give lessons in the Tibetan language, and that official documents at all levels are written in both Tibetan and Chinese, as required by China's Law on Regional Autonomy of Ethnic Minorities. "The law stipulates that China fully guarantees the rights of the ethnic minorities to inherit, use, and develop their own languages," he said.

Leading Religious Teacher Dies

TIN News Update/14 June, 1997

One of the most famous Buddhist teachers in Tibet has died at his monastery in Lhasa. Ngawang Phuntsog, a 75 year old lama known popularly as "Gen" or "Teacher" Lamrim, died at Drepung monastery at 8.35 on 28th May after a long illness.

The death has not been reported by the official media in Tibet, apparently because the lama held no official position and had always declined any honorary post offered by the authorities.

On 14th April the teacher had been flown to the western Chinese city of Chengdu for medical treatment, reportedly his first journey out of Lhasa for 50 years. The treatment was unsuccessful.

Gen Lamrim was widely regarded as one of the greatest teachers in the Gelugpa school of Tibetan Buddhism to have remained in Tibet after the flight of the Dalai Lama and other leaders in 1959. He was revered for his scholarship, his continued practice of Buddhism throughout the Cultural Revolution, his mystical abilities and his refusal to accept any political position.

He was one of the few Tibetan monks

who was able to remain as a monk during the Cultural Revolution, by the end of which in 1976 only 970 monks remained in central Tibet, according to official Chinese figures - less than 1% of the 115,600 who had been there in 1959 when China began democratic reforms in Central Tibet. Until 1983 some 70 monks at Drepung monastery were married men with families, and Gen Lamrim was widely seen in contrast by both Tibetans and Chinese as a model of religious purity.

Ngawang Phuntsog was exceptional in that, unlike most high-ranking Tibetan teachers, who are recognised at birth as "trulku" or re-incarnated lamas, his status was based on merit alone. "He was not an incarnate lama and he achieved all his learning by hard studies," said one Lhasa Tibetan today.

Ngawang Phuntsog was a Khampa or Eastern Tibetan from a family of relatively poor farmers in the Rong-yul area of Gyalthang, in the extreme south-east of traditional Tibet, near the town of Nyishar, now known as Nixi in present day Yunnan province.

After being formally ordained as a

monk at the age of 10 in Gyalthang, where he studied under Zangbum Rinpoche and Kusho 'Abu, he travelled to Lhasa in about 1943 and at the age of 22 joined Drepung monastery, one of the most famous in Tibet.

He became famous for his teaching of the "graduated path" or "Lamrim" method of Gelugpa Buddhism, and was named by the people of Lhasa after the tradition he taught.

His fame amongst Tibetans, particularly in the Lhasa area, was enhanced by semi-mystical accounts of his experiences in prison in the early years of Chinese rule. At the time of the 1959 Uprising and the Dalai Lama's escape to India, Gen Lamrim was in retreat in Nyethang, 30 km south-west of Lhasa, and was unaware of these events. The teacher was advised to return to Drepung when the Chinese authorities began arresting monks from retreat hermitages as well as monasteries, and was promptly detained by the Chinese authorities.

He was held for nearly two years in an improvised prison in the Lhasa house of Taring, a former Tibetan aristocrat, where

he is said to have given most of his daily food ration to his fellow prisoners. The monk acquired legendary status, even amongst communist officials, because he is said to have survived by practising the mystical technique of "di'u chu len", literally "taking sustenance by sucking pebbles". Other stories, circulating in his monastery, say that he could float at will and sometimes moved through walls to evade arrest.

He spent the Cultural Revolution working as a wool spinner for the monastery, which had been turned into an agricultural co-operative. He retained his vows and is said to have hidden many of the monastery's religious artefacts to prevent them being confiscated by the authorities. He remained throughout his adult life a vegetarian, almost unheard of amongst Tibetans.

"A Voice as Sweet as Crumpled Roses"

Religious practice was allowed to resume widely in Tibet in 1980, and four years later Gen Lamrim was given permission to give public teachings. In the following five years he was allowed to teach one month courses each spring and autumn on the Lamrim tradition; these were attended by thousands of lay Tibetans as well as monks. In 1987, however, a new wave of dissent emerged in Tibet when a group of 21 monks from Drepung staged a pro-independence demonstration. The arrests triggered off a series of at least 160 protests throughout Tibet in the following ten years, plus some 4,000 arrests and around 100 deaths.

The 21 Drepung monks, all under 35, had been ordained by Gen Lamrim - most were named after him - and were from the most advanced class in the monastery, representing the cream of the next generation of Gelugpa Buddhist scholars.

Two hundred other Drepung monks walked out from the monastery in protest at the arrest of the 21 students, but returned at the Gen's request. "He told us that we had to stay together and to return to our studies for the benefit of the country and the religion," recalled one of the monks, now living in exile, this week. The 21 students were released in a partial amnesty after three and a half months, but most were re-arrested a year later and given sentences averaging 15 years each for forming a pro-independence group and printing press within the monastery. That year the authorities in Lhasa, then under military rule, refused to allow public teachings by Gen Lamrim.

His bi-annual teachings were allowed

to resume in 1990, reportedly on the condition that the lama ask permission first and that he accept personal responsibility for any political protests that occurred during the teachings.

A few days before his spring teaching that year 37 Drepung monks, regarded by their colleagues as "the best students of the monastery", were expelled by the authorities from the monastery without any stated reason. In late May sixty monks signed petitions threatening to resign from the monastery if the expelled monks were not reinstated, but were later dissuaded from action by Gen Lamrim.

"Master Lam Rim, who is viewed as a saint and held in the highest esteem by Tibetan Buddhists, preached each day to several thousand Buddhists in the monastery's largest scripture hall," reported Xinhua of the teachings in November 1990, describing the "serene and cheerful atmosphere" in Lhasa at the time.

The public teachings in following years, which were visited by tourists on group excursions and filmed by Chinese television crews, attracted criticism from Tibetan nationalists who felt the lama was allowing the authorities to use him for propaganda purposes. "All the tourists were taken to Drepung to see the preaching, so they can say we have freedom of religion. Now Lamrim Rimpoché has become a puppet of Chinese," said one Tibetan in Lhasa in 1992. The 1995 teachings were used by officials as a device to keep Drepung monks out of Lhasa during the Dalai Lama's birthday, and the 1996 spring teachings were followed immediately by the official announcement that pictures of the Dalai Lama were to be banned from temples. But most Tibetans were happy to have the opportunity to hear Buddhist teachings.

"The moment is suddenly lyrical as Lamrim Rimpoché adjusts a pair of glasses attached to a length of grubby string around his ears, and in a voice as sweet as crumpled rose leaves imparts wisdom to his young charges," wrote a British journalist in the London-based Guardian after he saw the lama lecture in July 1995.

Gen Lamrim never accepted personal disciples or students but ordained large numbers of monks and nuns, including dozens who were later arrested. It is unclear if he was allowed or able to retrain a class of star pupils from the 400 or so monks who remained at Drepung after the 1987 and 1990 arrests and expulsions. In 1996 about 180 children under the age of 18 who had remained unofficially as child monks at Drepung were sent back to their homes as part of a monastic re-education

drive, but a number of unofficial monks - possibly around 200 - were given permission to study at the monastery provided they avoided any political incidents.

Not Allowed to Be Abbot

The 1996 re-education campaign involved a team of 180 officials and police taking up residence in the monastery for five months to carry out daily classes on political thought. At the same time the team carried out a major restructuring of the monastery, ordering the Chinese national flag to be flown daily above the monastery and removing the monks who had been elected as its leaders. The former leaders were replaced on 11th December last year in the presence of military officials with an unelected committee reportedly led by laymen.

Gen Lamrim was not on either the elected nor the unelected committee, as the monks had been instructed by the Chinese authorities in 1987 that they were not allowed to choose him to be their abbot or to serve on the committee. The exclusion of their most distinguished teacher from the 1987 election caused significant distress and disillusion with Chinese reforms even amongst the most senior monks.

Gen Lamrim was asked by the authorities in the 1980s to accept positions in the Chinese Buddhist Association and in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, a council of dignitaries which endorses official policies and which most religious leaders have to join. The lama's exceptional popularity meant he was able to refuse the requests, on the grounds that he wished to concentrate on religious pursuits.

He is known to have been an advocate of "thabs khes" or "skilful means" rather than confrontation, and was also admired for his refusal to accept political office. "There were those who were trying to protect him from being involved in politics," said one Tibetan who knew him well. "If he could keep the culture and, most importantly, the religion alive, we felt that people would never change their hearts as Tibetans," he added.

The lama sometimes intervened with the leaders of his own monastery and in February 1995 supported a group of three teachers in the monastery's primary school who had been expelled by the monastery leaders for refusing to send their pupils to perform physical labour for the monastery.

"Gen Lamrim told the leader that the pupils should not do work in the monastery because it was better for them

to study," reported one source at the time, who said that the teachers were reinstated. One of the teachers, Dondrup Tsewa, later committed suicide, apparently because he had been placed under surveillance by the monastery's security unit. The lama's reputation seems set to

grow with his death. Reports amongst his devotees in Lhasa this week say that the body of the teacher stayed in a meditation posture for several days after his death, regarded as a sign of exceptional accomplishment amongst Buddhists. Some reports say that he suffered from serious

depression in his final year, which included the five-month long visit of the political re-education team to Drepung, and describe this illness as uncharacteristic in a teacher of his stature.

Historic Lhasa Palace Demolition

TIN News Update/19 June, 1997

A palace built by the Sixth Dalai Lama in the seventeenth century and regarded as one of the most important historic buildings remaining in Lhasa is being demolished this week, according to unofficial reports from the Tibetan capital. The decision to knock down the Tromsikhang Palace, which had been awarded protected status by the Chinese government, goes against representations made to China by UNESCO as well as leading conservation experts.

The Tromsikhang Palace was one of four buildings in the heart of the Old City officially designated as due for "strict preservation as a cultural relic" by the municipal development plan for the area, the "Detailed Plan for the Lhasa Barkor", printed internally in 1994.

The demolition is part of a five year wave of modernisation in Lhasa which by the end of last year had led to the demolition of 350 of the 600 historic buildings which stood in the Old City when the Chinese arrived four decades ago. Twenty-eight historic buildings in the area are reported to have been demolished since January, 15 of them in the last month.

The city of Lhasa, which is at least 1300 years old, covered less than 3 sq km when the Chinese arrived in 1950, and now covers 54 sq km. The original "Old City" area today represents about two per cent of the total area of Lhasa, with the rest of the city constructed mainly out of modern concrete buildings.

The 60 x 40 metre Tromsikhang flanks the northern side of the Barkor, the pilgrimage route which circles the Jokhang Temple in the heart of Lhasa, and was thus within a "grade one" conservation area. However, this status was accorded by the regional government and so could be overturned without consultation with Beijing. The Potala Palace and the Jokhang Temple are the only structures in Lhasa accorded national level protection.

The destruction of the former stables and the servants' quarters at the back of

the palace had already begun last Friday, and demolition of the main structure is due to take place this week, reported sources in Lhasa today.

"The Tromsikhang was the most magnificent building left on the Barkor and the most prestigious, a superb building with a huge facade," said Professor Heather Stoddard, head of the Tibetan Department at University of Paris III. "We urgently need backing to try to set up an international fund to save what is left of the Old City," said Professor Stoddard, who is co-founder of the Tibet Heritage Fund Project, working with a Norwegian project to save buildings in Tibet.

Professor Jens Braarvig, head of the Network for Tibet-Norway University Co-operation, which works with Governmental and UN backing to document and preserve historic buildings in Lhasa, expressed concern at the news of the demolition and said he would be taking it up immediately with colleagues in Lhasa.

A source from UNESCO said that the organisation would be writing to the Chinese authorities immediately. "It is terrible that the historical centres of so many Chinese cities are being destroyed," added the official, noting that the damage to Kunming in southern China has been even more serious.

In December 1994 the Chinese government announced that it was considering nominating the Old City of Lhasa, which includes the Tromsikhang Palace, as a world heritage site, a status which would have protected the remaining historic buildings from destruction. Late last year the Chinese authorities indicated to UNESCO that they were in favour of the nominating the Old City, adding that "the preservation of Tibetan cultural heritage has been one of the highest priorities of China", according to a UNESCO report.

The Potala Palace, the former residence of the Dalai Lama situated just outside the Old City, was proposed by China as a "World Heritage Site" and formally

accepted by UNESCO three years ago.

The World Heritage Committee, an inter-governmental organisation linked to UNESCO which supervises the Potala and other world heritage sites, last year noted the damage being caused by rebuilding in Lhasa. "The pressures of urban development and growth in tourist-related activities are resulting in many construction activities in the historic sector of Lhasa," it reported in December 1996, saying that these were having "a negative impact on historic structures and their authenticity".

The Committee may have been referring to the constructions replacing the old buildings, most of which are concrete built blocks with a mock Tibetan-style facade.

The continuing demolitions in the city flout the requests of the Committee, which in December last year again called on China "to extend the World Heritage protected area to cover the historic centre of the Barkor".

It may already be too late for UNESCO to help, according to one western expert this week. "Now there are already too few historic buildings left in the Old City for UNESCO to declare it a World Heritage Site", he said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

Demolition Forbidden Without Permission

Blame for the continuing wave of demolitions was levelled today at Lobsang Dondrup, the mayor of Lhasa from 1992 until last year, and now Party Secretary of the City.

In a concession to international concerns the Lhasa government issued an order last September forbidding any demolition of historic buildings without permission from the Municipal Government.

"It was when Lobsang came to power that it began in earnest. It is he who would have given the order to knock it down, so they can build something twice

as tall and make some money," said the source who has close connections with the city authorities but who asked not to be named.

A major boom in land values in the Barkor was set off in 1995 when radical market reforms were introduced to allow the sale of buildings, making ground floor shops and construction of shopping arcades hugely profitable.

The authorities in Tibet say that they face a chronic shortage of accommodation and add that demolition is essential in the Old City because 90 per cent of its buildings are believed to be in "danger of

replaced by a four-storey block which is said to have no plans for plumbing, meaning that at least forty families may have to depend on a single tap in the courtyard for their drinking water supply, according to an unofficial report.

If the new building does have four storeys it will breach Lhasa's conservation regulations, which do not prohibit demolitions as long as the new facades are in keeping with traditional appearance and do not rise higher than the three storey Jokhang Temple.

"There are specific conservation requirements within the scope of a grade

us a signed agreement allowing us carte blanche to carry out restoration projects on any historic houses over the next five years - but we don't have sufficient backing to do anything," said Professor Stoddard, saying that the Tibet Heritage Fund Project had been able to raise only \$52,000 so far, enough only to save two small houses about one eighth the size of the Tromsikhang Palace.

"The Tromsikhang could have been saved last summer if we had come back with funds. Everyone in the West says the project is wonderful, but it is almost always hot air and our funds are now nearly exhausted", she added. The project is currently working with the authorities on designing a sewage system, which is urgently required for the Old City, but has been given no funds to restore any more houses.

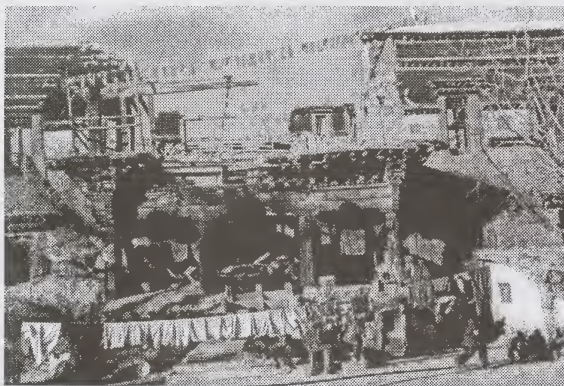
Bhutanese Embassy, Chinese Court

The Tromsikhang Palace is on the Barkor, Lhasa's oldest street, near the seventh-century Jokhang temple and near the site of Surkhang house, which was replaced by a large shopping arcade in 1993. It lies on the south side of a square which has housed the main market in the city since the 18th century and which is named after the palace, whose name means "the building which looks over the Market". The north side of the square now houses a giant supermarket of the same name, housing 1400 shops or stalls, constructed on the site of several other historic buildings.

Residents of the Tromsikhang, known as Chongsaisang in Chinese, say it was built by the Seventh Dalai Lama in the 1740s as a gift to the regent Miwang Phola, whose duties included supervising the market, but historical texts say that it was constructed in the late 17th century by the Sixth Dalai Lama and used as a residence by the Mongol ruler Lhazang Khan, who ruled Tibet from 1704 to 1717.

There were four main houses each with their own courtyard within the Tromsikhang complex, one of which was used as the Bhutanese Embassy, and another as a police station. The two sections in the northern half of the building, which contained the offices of the Tibetan cabinet and of leading officials, were demolished over five years ago and have been replaced by teashops and market stalls. In recent times the rooms in the three storey building had been rented out to 30 or 40 families in each house.

Conservationists had hoped that developers in Lhasa would spare the building because of its historic associations with China - the building was also known as



Above, the ruins of Shide Dratsang, one of the remaining historic buildings which has not been renovated or rebuilt in Lhasa

falling down", according to a Xinhua report in April 1995.

"The main aims of the housing reforms are to speed up the construction of accommodation, solve citizens' housing problems and improve existing accommodation facilities," said the 12th document of the economic working group of the Tibet Autonomous Region, the document which authorised the property boom in January 1994. A special committee "to supervise renovation work" in the Old City area was set up by the city government in the same year. The term "renovation" is used in official Chinese statements to include demolition and reconstruction.

A survey by a western researcher in 1993 found that 67 buildings on the site of newly demolished historic structures in Lhasa were no better than the old buildings in sanitation, water supply or electrical service, and were worse in terms of climate suitability, insulation and earthquake protection.

The facade of the Tromsikhang is expected to be retained, and the remainder

one conservation area applying to the Jokhang and neighbouring land," states the 1994 plan for the development of the Barkor. "These are the complete preservation of the unique collective appearance of the traditional street area, with buildings preserving the traditional Tibetan style; conservation and restoration in respect of building height, size, style and decoration, in basic accord with the original form," it continues. The Tromsikhang, it says, is in "the cream area, concentrating the special features of the Old City's traditional street area".

Critics of the demolition policy disputed claims that the historic buildings demolished in the current wave were in a dangerous condition. "The Tromsikhang was in a terrible state because of the way it was being used, especially the east wing", said one Westerner who surveyed it unofficially in 1992. "But it was structurally sound and could have been renovated", he added.

There was also criticism for westerners' failure to fund renovation projects in Lhasa. "The Lhasa Government has given

the Manchu Yamen, or Qing Court, because part of it was used by the Qing dynasty emperors' representatives, known as Ambans, two of whom were killed by Tibetans on the premises in 1750. Six stone tablets bearing instructions by a mid-18th century Qing dynasty emperor are still preserved inside the building's walls.

"The Tromsikhang was one of the four remaining great secular buildings left in Lhasa when I was last there in 1992", said Namsa Chenmo, a famous Tibetan tailor now in India who lived in the building. "There are a few old houses still there in Lhasa," said Gongan Lhawutara, one of the senior officials in

the old regime whose office was in the Tromsikhang but who is now living in exile. "After a few years these also will not be there", he added, when told about the demolition. "They destroy all the houses with history", he said.

"When they pull down buildings like the Tromsikhang Palace, my parents' generation cry in their hearts," said a 23-year old Tibetan now in exile who once lived in the Barkor. "But many of the youngsters are happy because the Chinese tell them it is progress, and that they are going to make a new Hong Kong out of Lhasa," he added.

The authorities in Tibet spent 61 million yuan (\$7.3 million) "renovating"

residential buildings in Lhasa from 1979 to 1993, and 12 million yuan (\$1.4 million) from 1994 to 1996. Reconstruction in Lhasa is being carried out by the Lhasa Real Estate Development Corporation, whose goal is "to renovate old housing in the old urban area" according to a Xinhua report last November, which said some 2,500 families in Lhasa had moved into new houses since 1994. "A total of 17,000 sq metres of floor space in old dwellings was renovated over the three years", said Party Secretary Lobsang Dondrup, cited by his governmental title of vice-chairman of the region.

Language and Cultural Issues Become Battleground

Extract from "Re-Education of Monks is a 'Basic Policy'," TIN News Update/28 July, 1997

Leading Party members in the TAR have been told by Chen Kuiyuan, the Party Secretary of the TAR, to wage "a blow for blow struggle against the Dalai splittist clique". The clique was pursuing "sinister splittist plots under the cloak of ethnic religion" and "dreaming of restoring the feudal serf-owning system", the delegates were told.

The statement was made in the keynote speech of a crucial meeting on 18th June at which the Tibet branch of the Communist Party gathered its delegates for the 15th Party Congress due to be held in Beijing this autumn.

In the speech, parts of which were published verbatim in the Tibet Daily two days later, Chen reserved his strongest language for Party members who argue that Tibet should be treated differently from other parts of China.

"There are those who, so as to confuse, with hostile intent emphasise the special nature of Tibet and its unfathomable mystery, still seeking to regard the Dalai as a god," he said, a reference to moderate Tibetan leaders in the 1980s who had argued for "flexible policies" on the grounds that Tibet has "special characteristics".

The "special characteristics" view in Tibet has not re-emerged in public since May 1992 when Chen assumed power in the region, and crushed the "special characteristics" faction in the Tibet branch of the Party.

Chen's 1992 attack on moderates focussed on those who resisted opening the Tibetan economy to Chinese entrepreneurs, but the 18th June speech is directed against critics of the current pol-

icy on Tibetan culture. In the speech Chen singled out Party members who are still "treating with respect those former customs and traditions of the old Tibet which were a spiritual opium that deceived the people and are incompatible with modern times", describing their motives as "very sinister".



Above, Chen Kuiyuan, Secretary of the TAR Party Committee

The "spiritual civilisation" campaign, which has been going on throughout China since last September, calls for certain old customs and traditions to be eradicated, but the definition of which customs should be abolished varies in different provinces and regions of China.

This month Chen accused the pro-inde-

pendence movement of using cultural issues to increase anti-Chinese feeling. "The Dalai clique and splittists are using culture and education as an opening to attack us," Chen was quoted as saying in the Tibet Daily's July 14th edition, according to an AFP report. "They try to use language and culture as an excuse to create ethnic conflict. Their aim is to separate the Tibetan nationality from the rest of [China's] nationalities ... and to make the so-called 'Tibetan culture' opposed to the so-called 'Han culture'," he said.

In his 18th June speech Chen indicated that there should be no distinctions between Tibet and inland China in policies or in economic and social development. "In reality the basic interests, and road by which to flourish and grow, of the Tibetan people and the people of the inland are identical," Chen told the meeting. The view corresponds with the current development plans for the region, which are geared to increasing economic linkage between Tibet and inland provinces.

The two objectives of Tibet policy are to stop the pro-independence movement and to ensure that Tibet does not fall behind the economic and social changes taking place in China, he said. "We will absolutely not allow Tibet to be split off from the great family of the motherland, nor will we allow Tibet to fall behind in the long term. These two sentences are the core content of the spirit of the Third Forum," said Chen, referring to the 1994 meeting which established long-term policy in the region. Chen called for a "long term struggle to realise these two objectives".

Leading Scholar Dies, Cultural Criticism Stepped Up

TIN News Update/4 August, 1997

One of the leading cultural and intellectual figures of modern Tibet, recognised by China as a "national treasure", has died.

Dungkar Lobsang Trinley, who died from cancer on 21st July in a Los Angeles hospital, was noted as an outstanding Buddhist scholar, a Marxist historian, an expert on traditional poetics and a campaigner for modern Tibetan education and cultural development.

The 71-year old scholar was widely admired among Tibetan intellectuals, but in the days before his death the Chinese authorities launched an ideological drive against his views and may have already stripped him of his privileges.

On 11th July the main Tibet newspaper published a high-level attack on unnamed Tibetan history researchers at the University of Tibet, where Dungkar Rinpoche was Professor of History.

"Some say that college teaching material will be void of substance if religion is not included," said Chen Kuiyuan, Tibet's Party Secretary, according to the newspaper. "Comrades who are engaged in research on Tibetan culture should be indignant at such statements," Chen said, slamming the use of religious material in education. Statements made by "some people claiming to be authorities" in support of including religion in Tibetan studies were similar to separatist attempts "to use the spoken language and culture to cause disputes and antagonism between nationalities," said Chen.

Dungkar Rinpoche was made a national-level scholar in 1987, one of only four from Central Tibet given the title, but there are unofficial reports that last year the award was withdrawn from him and another Tibetan scholar, the medical expert Jampa Trinley. Two years ago Dungkar had failed to speak out against the Dalai Lama in the dispute over the reincarnation of the next Panchen Lama, and last year he declined to take part in a major political re-education campaign.

His later works were not authorised for publication and there are no reports yet of his death being announced in Tibet, another indicator that he may have been downgraded.

The head of education in Tibet, Yang Chaoji, who died aged 65 on 23rd June, was given a front page obituary in the Tibet Daily two days after his death. Yang, a hard-line secretary of the Tibet regional Party's Education Work Committee, head of the regional

Education Committee and like Dungkar Rinpoche a former Vice-Principal of Tibet University, is believed to have fronted recent criticisms on the Tibetan historians and researchers at the University.

"Hold onto Language"

Dungkar Rinpoche first appears to have come under suspicion in 1992 when China's then leader Deng Xiaoping signalled an end to the "special characteristics" privilege which had allowed Tibetans to argue for a significant degree of cultural and economic autonomy. Dungkar Rinpoche saw the new policy as aiming at full assimilation of Tibet's economy and culture with China, and as jeopardising the brilliantly successful cultural reconstruction achieved during the previous 15 years by Tibetan educationalists and moderate Chinese to repair the damage of the Cultural Revolution.

"Educational method, direction and purity depend only on holding onto the language and writing appropriate to the nationality," he had written in the December 1993 edition of the Journal of Tibet University, hinting at the risks presented by the new policy. "If a nationality is separated from its language and writing, and another nationality's language and writing becomes the basis for its education, difficulties will result."

In his spoken statements he was more direct. "We have reached a dangerous point. The number of people in Tibet today who are literate in Tibetan is diminishing, in spite of the avowed aim of the nationalities policy implemented in Tibet over the last 40 years," he said in a talk given in 1992. "In spite of Tibetan being declared the first official language to be used in all government offices and meetings and in official correspondence, Chinese is used everywhere as the working language, and since the level of Tibetan is so low our people are being led by the nose and have no power over their own destiny."

He regarded the establishment of educational institutes which could promote Tibetan, as well as teach fluency in Chinese, as the priority. "This is without any question the most important area in which foreign aid can help us," he said in the 1992 talk. "All hope in our future, all other developments, cultural identity, and protection of our heritage depends on this. Without educated people in all fields, expressing themselves in their own language, Tibetans are in danger of being

assimilated. We have reached a crucial point," he said.

In October 1995 Chen Kuiyuan, Tibet's Party Secretary, declared at an internal meeting that the pro-independence movement had been found to be based on Tibetan religion, which was linked in turn to Tibetan culture. The theory, still not announced publicly, indicated the end of Party support for the advancement of Tibetan language and cultural studies. In the following months the experimental project in Tibetan-language secondary education was abandoned, several Tibetan-language courses at the University of Tibet were cancelled, new students in Tibetan studies were rejected, and university staff were ordered to rewrite text books for Tibetan-related courses and to reduce their religious content.

That year Dungkar Rinpoche resigned from the Committee for Tibetan Language, responsible for implementing language policy in the region; the Committee was downgraded some six months later from provincial to county level and may have been disbanded. Earlier, in 1995, almost unique amongst religious leaders and scholars in Tibet, he had avoided making a statement supporting the Chinese position concerning the selection of the Panchen Lama. In 1996, arguing ill health, he declined a formal request to join the patriotic education team that was sent to lecture monks at the monasteries of Drepung and Sera.

Although he was already suffering from advanced cancer, that refusal led to the withdrawal of the normal privileges of his position as a state-level scholar, and when he was moved to Beijing for treatment a hospital room was procured for him by friends only with difficulty.

The 71 year old scholar was allowed to travel to the United States three months ago, but was already too ill to respond to treatment by the time he arrived.

Marxism and Tradition

Born in Kongpo Nyingtri in Southern Tibet in 1927, Dungkar Lobsang Trinley had been recognised under the old regime as a tulku or incarnate lama at the age of four. Five years later he joined Sera monastery in Lhasa, where he studied under Trijang Rinpoche, tutor to the Dalai Lama. By the age of 30 he had gained the Geshe Lharampa degree, the highest academic qualification in the Tibetan monastic system.

When still in his twenties he had been appointed to the position of gekoe or disciplinarian at Gyume, the Lower Tantric College in Lhasa. He was already renowned for his knowledge of the five sciences of traditional Tibetan culture, which included Buddhist philosophy, logic, literature and grammar, astrology and poetics. His capacity for memorisation was legendary, and each night before going to sleep he is said to have learnt by heart as many pages of text as could be pierced by a single needle.

Even before the Chinese took full control of Tibet in 1959 Dungkar Rinpoche had been sent by the Tibetan administration to teach at the nascent Nationalities Institute in Beijing. There he absorbed the modern and specifically Marxist approaches to study introduced by the new regime. In the years after the Cultural Revolution he went on to occupy all the leading positions available to Tibetan academics - Vice-Principal and Professor of Tibet University, Honorary President of the Tibet Academy of Social Sciences, Professor at the Central Institute of Nationalities in Beijing, and Vice-President of the Chinese Institute of Tibetology in Beijing.

His political rewards included membership of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and of the council of the Chinese Buddhist Association. His intellectual skills were recognised officially in 1987 when he was awarded the title of "state-level expert with outstanding contributions to science".

His major publications included *The Merging of Religious and Secular Rule in Tibet*, *The Annotated Red Annals*, *A List of Rare Tibetan Books*, *An Introduction to the History of the Potala and the Jokhang*, *A Dictionary of Han-Tibetan History*, and *The History of Struggles Among Various Religious Sects in Tibet*, as well as important works on Tibetan poetics and on modern education.

He was regarded among Tibetologists outside China and Tibet as the outstanding academic figure in contemporary Tibet, and was elected by acclamation to the council of the International Association of Tibetan Scholars in 1992. The honour, although unsought, led the Chinese authorities to commence an investigation into his political reliability and to reassess his writings.

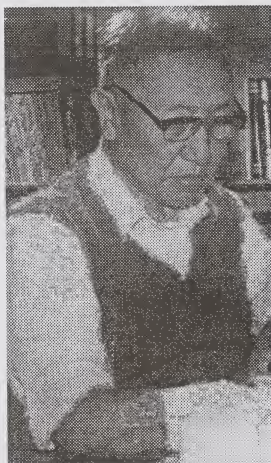
Last of "the Three Great Scholars"

His death means that all three of the trio widely regarded by Tibetans as the greatest scholars in post-Cultural Revolution Tibet - Tseten Shabdrung, Muge Samten and Dungkar Rinpoche - have now died.

Of the three, only Dungkar excelled in modern as well as traditional studies.

By attempting to cross-fertilise Tibetan Buddhist thought and Marxist analytical method, and by campaigning for social and educational development, he was able to play a vital role in the reconstruction of Tibetan as a modern language and culture following the Cultural Revolution.

He was prominent amongst those intellectuals who saw modern education in Tibetan as the key to development and who campaigned for the establishment of the University in Tibet, set up in Lhasa in 1985 to provide tertiary-level education in Tibetan medium in both modern and traditional studies. "The development of the Tibetan language is an essential aspect of the economic development of Tibet," he said in 1995. The University still offers no Tibetan-language courses in any modern subject.



Above, Dungkar Rinpoche

His greatest influence as an educator emerged in the late 1970s when he moved to the Central Institute of Nationalities in Beijing, combining his formative studies on Dunhuang manuscripts - later published by other scholars without attribution, it was famously alleged - with teaching to a new generation of young Tibetans. Among those students in Beijing was the young Eastern Tibetan writer Dondrup Gyal, who wrote the famous ode to Tibetan youth "The Blue Lake" and led the Tibetan literary revival of the early 1980s.

Other students included Jigme Ngapo, son of a former Governor of Tibet and

now head of the Washington-based Tibetan language service of Radio Free Asia. "Dungkar Rinpoche was one of the few people of his generation who had a mission to carry on his culture, and to pass it down to the younger generation," said Jigme Ngapo. "Under the circumstances he did his best to do this," he added.

Tseten Wangchuk, now a prominent journalist with the Tibetan section of the US broadcasting station Voice of America, also studied under Dungkar Rinpoche during the early 1980s. "He had a very unique role in the more educated Tibetan circle, particularly since 1978," he said. "Under his teaching both in Beijing and in Lhasa a whole generation of young Tibetan intellectuals grew up, people who play a very important role in Tibet," he added.

Dungkar Rinpoche's classes in the 1980s, often crowded out by other teachers as well as students, focussed on traditional Tibetan studies: classical literature, religious philosophy, astrology, Tibetan poetry and grammar. When he returned to Lhasa in 1984 to take up the chair of Professor of History in Tibet University he gave public teachings on rare occasions, irked by personal clashes with the University authorities, but he nurtured a wide range of students and fellow scholars through individual tutorials, often giving private lectures to a single student and even exchanging teachings with the famous religious scholars Bomi Rinpoche and the late Yeshe Wangchuk.

On his return to Lhasa he became more active in the attempt to develop and sustain Tibetan culture and society, and was deeply involved in projects to promote Tibetan-medium education at all levels, to develop a curriculum and standard set of text books in Tibetan, and - in another project with deeply political undertones - to develop a standard Tibetan language for common use that would unite the dialects of central Tibet, Kham and Amdo by removing the divisions of regional speech. His approach always remained pragmatic: he argued, in a talk at the University of London in 1995, that Tibetan children should be taught Chinese as well as Tibetan from the first year of school, so as to be better equipped for modern life. That policy is now being implemented.

By the mid-1980s his public statements had become more radical, and included open criticisms of scholars who used what he called a Chinese or materialist approach to Tibetan studies. Tseten Wangchuk remembers him at a meeting in 1984 calling for Tibetan literature to be studied in terms of a "Tibetan way of thinking" even if this meant accepting

mystical claims at face value, a view apparently contradicting the Marxist method of his earlier work. "He made other speeches of this kind in Lhasa, and after a while people became afraid to invite him to speak," Tseten Wangchuk recalls.

20 years earlier Dungkar Rinpoche had been seen as a collaborator. He was well-disposed towards the Chinese, so none of us who are from the same class would trust him," recalled one Tibetan, another former dignitary, who worked for nine years in the same forced labour gang based in Toelung, near Lhasa, where they dug drains and constructed small power plants. "During class struggle sessions he would say that he had done good deeds for the Party and would blame others, even though he was the same class as us, the landlord class", said the Tibetan, who now lives in India.

He was still widely distrusted in the late 1970s, when Tseten Wangchuk recalls watching Lhasa people go into the main bookshop to buy copies of his history "The Merging of Religious and Secular Rule in Tibet", a Marxist critique of the monastic influence on politics, so that they could tear the copies up in the street afterwards. Ten years later the same book was re-published by the Tibetan exile Government, which by then regarded it as

a valuable historical study.

Ten days before Dungkar Rinpoche died, the famous religious teacher Geshe Yeshe Wangchuk was killed in a car accident in Kongpo. The 69-year old Geshe - the Tibetan title equivalent to a Doctor of Divinity - was vice chairman of the Tibetan branch of the Chinese Buddhist Association. Originally from the Tibetan area of north Yunnan, he joined Sera monastery at the age of 16, one year before the Chinese invasion, and later spent a year in prison. In 1986 he became the first person to be awarded the degree of Geshe Lharampa since 1959, and was regarded as one of the key remaining religious leaders in Tibet. He visited India in 1982 and was reportedly persuaded to return to continue his teachings in Tibet by the Dalai Lama.

Last February one of Tibet's most highly ranked lamas died at the age of 49. Tenzin Jigme, the 6th Retring Rinpoche, was a lama of the "inner hutoku" rank and was thus one of the few eligible in traditional Tibet to serve as a regent during the childhood of a Dalai Lama. He was awarded a number of honorary positions by the Chinese authorities and often required to give public statements on their behalf, but never recovered fully from a mental illness which developed shortly after the end of Cultural

Revolution. He was in the same forced labour team as Dungkar Rinpoche, but unlike the rest of the team had to undergo nearly eight weeks of struggle sessions because of his status and his links with the then disgraced Panchen Lama.

"For one or two months he was detained during the day and class struggled against during the night time. I remember him lying unconscious on the floor and them using drainage water to throw on his body so that he would recover consciousness", said the former member of the labour team. "He confessed that he had acted mistakenly in the old days and that he had committed crimes against the people, but he never criticised other people," she said. Retring Rinpoche, at that time 16 years old, was then sent to prison for three years and was rehabilitated only in 1977.

"He used to say he was no longer a Rinpoche because he had been married, but he was still very much loved," said one Tibetan who knew him. "Many Lhasa citizens quietly worshipped him and although he took on a political role, he remained a deeply spiritual figure," he said. His death leaves the Chinese authorities with a dilemma about how to authorise or confirm any search for his reincarnation without recourse to the Dalai Lama.

Cultural Policy: History Book Banned. Tibetan Culture Declared "Non-Buddhist"

TIN News Update/15 August, 1997

A play has been banned and a book withdrawn from sale in Tibet in the run-up to a new campaign to "make socialist literature and art prosper". The campaign orders Tibetan writers to reflect the views of the working class, redefines Tibetan culture as non-Buddhist, and attacks resistance to Chinese cultural influence in Tibet.

The banning of the two works, both of which were accounts of 17th century Tibetan history, came to light after they were publicly condemned in the speech which launched the literature campaign in the Tibet Autonomous Region, delivered by the region's Party Secretary on 11th July.

The new campaign, which singles out for attack Tibetan historians and researchers at the University of Tibet, condemns the teaching of religion at the University and the inclusion of Buddhism in the study of Tibetan history and culture.

The banned book and the play were both about the Potala Palace, formerly the seat of the Dalai Lamas' government in Lhasa, and included references to Sangye Gyatso, the chief minister of the 5th Dalai Lama (1617-82), who was responsible for constructing much of the Palace.

"The political tendencies and ideological contents of literary and artistic works are not controlled strictly and accurately," said Party Secretary Chen in his 11th July speech, according to the text published in the official Tibet Daily on 16th July and issued in translation by the BBC Monitoring Service.

"There are also a small number of literary and artistic works which, by turning things upside down, extol what should not be extolled, and even go all out to sing the praises of the separatist chieftain Di-ba Sang-jie Jia-cuo," Chen continued.

There are no previously known reports of Chinese condemnation of Sangye Gyatso as a "separatist" leader, but offi-

cial Chinese histories criticise him because during a face to face meeting in Beijing in 1693 he tricked the Qing Emperor Shengzu into giving him an honorary title by handing him a letter of greetings from the 5th Dalai Lama - who had in fact died 11 years earlier. The Emperor found out about the death in 1695, by which time Sangye Gyatso had appointed the 6th Dalai Lama without informing China. Gyatso then rejected further requests from Shengzu, including a demand that the then Panchen Lama should be sent to Beijing.

The banned play, "Potala'i Sangdam" or "Secrets of the Potala", was produced by the Lhasa Theatre Troupe in 1996 and toured China until the Tibetan authorities banned it late last year, citing unspecified "political reasons". The play was based on a film produced by the same group which has been banned for at least six years, reportedly because it showed the 5th Dalai Lama meeting the Chinese

Emperor Shizu in 1652 without performing a kow-tow.

The book that has been withdrawn was a lavishly illustrated guide to the treasures and history of the Potala Palace with commentaries in Chinese, Tibetan and English edited by the scholar Thubten Gyatzen. The book was withdrawn in about December last year, reportedly because of official disapproval of a portrait of Sangye Gyatso which was included in the book.

Tibetan Culture "Non-Buddhist"

Party Secretary Chen's attack on Tibetan scholars is part of an new ideological definition of Tibetan culture, refuting in particular the view "equating Tibetan national culture with Tibetan religion, alleging that the Tibetan national culture is actually a Buddhist culture and that there would be no Tibetan national culture without a Buddhist culture".

"Buddhism is a foreign culture," said Chen, describing the idea that Tibetan culture is Buddhist as "utterly absurd". Tibetan culture flourished for over a millennium before the introduction of Buddhism in the 8th century. "The view of equating Buddhist culture with Tibetan culture not only does not conform to reality but also belittles the ancestors of the Tibetan nationality and the Tibetan nationality itself," he said.

The speech criticises "some others [who] say that college teaching material will be void of substance if religion is not included and that in that case, colleges would not be real colleges ... They have no reason whatsoever to make such an allegation." The attack is believed to refer to Tibetan staff at the University in Lhasa who have complained about a plan to reduce the religious content of Tibetan studies.

In the speech Chen attacks unnamed people "claiming to be authorities" who have made "such shameless statements confusing truth and falsehood", and goes on to link them to the pro-independence movement. "Comrades who are engaged in research on Tibetan culture should be indignant at such statements. Making use of religion in the political field, separatists now go all out to put religion above the Tibetan culture and attempt to use the spoken language and culture to cause disputes and antagonism between nationalities," says Chen. "This is the crux of the matter," he added.

Sinification Essential

The new ideological position on Tibetan culture also defines foreign, predominantly Chinese, influence as essen-

tial to ensuring the strengthening of the culture. "All comrades who are conscious and strive for cultural progress should welcome cultural exchanges and be a promoter in this regard," says Chen. The remarks suggests that any opposition to sinification will be seen as opposition to social progress and improvement.

"It is absolutely necessary and beneficial to have cultural exchanges between various nationalities," Chen explains. "Advocating cultural segregation by the Dalai clique is aimed at practising political separatism".

Chen later makes it clear that the exchange should be mainly with China. "They were created together by comrades of Tibetan and Han nationalities in literary and art circles, which were a result of learning from one another and of their concerted efforts," he says of his favourite Tibetan songs.

"Tibetan literary and artistic works cannot do without exchanges and merging with cultures of other nationalities. A prerequisite and a large background are that the Tibetan nationality stands erect among the 56 nationalities of the Chinese nation," he notes, arguing that the Tibetan Empire became prosperous in the 8th century because it sent Tibetans to study in Chang'an, the then Chinese capital.

Although the main purpose of the nation-wide literature campaign is to encourage selectivity in the "study and use for reference of foreign cultures", the campaign in Tibet does not refer to selective borrowing from Chinese culture.

Chen's attack on the view which regards Tibetan culture as unvariegated or as mainly Buddhist is in line with most modern scholarship on the subject, as is his view that cultures gain from absorbing outside influences.

Threats

The "progressivist" and secular definition of culture in Tibet indicates increasing sophistication in China's ideological handling of the Tibetan dispute, but it is likely to cause serious concern among Tibetan intellectuals because of implicit threats in the speech against any critics of the new position.

"Only the Dalai clique can make such shameless remarks. To win some support from the international hostile forces, he has to tell some tales and fabricate some lies to malign our country and its policies," Chen says of the argument that Tibetan culture is at risk. "What merits our attention is that there are some people in the interior of the country who are also peddling such arguments," he adds.

The Party Secretary refers to "the

Dalai" seventeen times in his speech, defining any divergence from the new position on culture as support for the exile leader and the pro-independence movement. Support for the movement is a criminal offence in Tibet.

"This is retrograde, old-fashioned Marxism," says Professor Ronald Schwartz, a Canadian sociologist who specialises in Tibet. "It takes culture in Tibet very seriously and sees it as a threat to the regime in a way that Beijing would not if Chinese writers were exploring these little avenues."

"Ever since the liberalisation there has been this group of intellectuals in Tibet who have stayed out of politics visibly at least because they saw their function as preserving Tibetan literature and culture," says Professor Schwartz. "For over a decade they have been able to recruit their students and teach their classes, and what he has finally done now is to go for that group, which had been immune until now."

The use of these arguments by the Party leadership could explain why China has recently encouraged the work of leading Tibetan and western intellectuals researching pre-Buddhist Tibet. Study of the pre-Buddhist era, when Tibet had no political links with China, had until now been seen by academics as a way of avoiding recruitment by Chinese politicians seeking support for Beijing's sovereignty claims.

The tone of the campaign is likely to accelerate the existing slow-down in Tibetan publications in Tibet and China. There is only one fully operative Tibetan-language printing press in the Tibet Autonomous Region, and funding for academic and literary publications has been hard to obtain since 1992.

Nation-wide campaign

Each province and region of China is expected to carry out its own version of a nation-wide campaign launched in May to "promote and prosper socialist literature with Chinese characteristics". The campaign is based on a speech on advancing literature and art issued by President Jiang Zemin in December last year.

The national campaign calls for an end to the adoption in Chinese art of Western-inspired decadence - probably a reference to pornography, which is now prominent in Chinese fiction - and for more artistic creativity and discussion, as well as study of classical Marxist theory on culture. Writers and artists are also told to mix more with "the people" and to serve socialism.

The Tibet campaign does not mention

artistic creativity and discussion or advocate "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend", the slogan which dominated Jiang's original speech on culture last December.

In the Tibet campaign speech - unlike the published national speeches - Party Secretary Chen applies a class analysis to Tibetan culture, dividing it into working class culture and ruling class culture.

Ignoring the distinction between working class and upper class culture is equivalent to the Dalai Lama's claim that traditional Tibetan culture is under threat, says Chen, pointing out that this is based on the assumption that there is only one culture in Tibet and that the Dalai Lama and his serfs all did the same work or shared the same culture. "What he [the Dalai] called the restoration of traditional religion, culture, and history, in short, means the restoration of the system of unification of the state and the church and the serf system," said Chen.

Chen's definition of working class culture does not include any reference to religion and implies that both religion and "things enjoyed by the upper ruling class, which constituted the culture of the ruling class," should not be taken up by contem-

porary Tibetans.

The speeches by President Jiang and the People's Daily commentaries had avoided class analysis, did not mention the working class, and listed fine arts, photography, literature, film, and calligraphy amongst praiseworthy art forms.

The Tibet Party Secretary commends art created "by working people", which he defines as "folk dances, poems, songs, and regional dances" created by members of the working class. He describes these art forms as "the inexhaustible source of traditional national culture which we should inherit". The phrase relates to Chen's other principal argument, which is that all except for the best aspects of traditional culture should be rejected and discontinued. "In inheriting the culture, it is necessary to analyse it, to discard its dross, and carry forward the good part of it. The development of national culture is a result of 'developing what is useful or healthy and discarding what is not'," said Chen, quoting Chairman Mao.

Works held up as exemplary in the Tibet campaign are mainly socialist songs and dances, notably three Tibetan songs from the 1950s - "On Gold Mountain in Beijing", "Bitter Becomes Sweet After

the Arrival of the Communists", and "Emancipated Serfs Are Singing".

Praise is also given for a contemporary work called the "Wall-Building Song" because it is "about the life of working people" and "ideologically and emotionally reflects the happiness, anger, grief, and joy of the masses". Ragdi, Chen's immediate deputy, is cited as praising a recent dance piece called "Emancipated Serfs Go to College".

In the same speech Chen returned to the issue of increasing Chinese-language education in primary schools, first raised by one of his deputies three months earlier. "In Tibet, it is practical and correct to vigorously develop bilingual teaching according to the provisions of the 'Law Governing Regional National Autonomy'," Chen said, again linking any disagreement with this to "discord sown and sabotage carried out by hostile forces". As in the April statement, the speech was unclear about whether the change means an increase in the number of lessons devoted to learning Chinese or in the number of subjects taught through the medium of Chinese.

"Hidden" Enemy Targetted

Extract from "Power Struggle in Tibet Party", TIN News Update/16 November, 1997

China's top leader in Tibet has called in public for special vigilance against a new form of "hidden" enemy among Tibetans. He cited as the most notable example Chadel Rinpoche, the former abbot who had led the search for the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, one of Tibet's most prominent religious leaders.

A group including leading scholars and lamas was warned that criticism of China's cultural policies was being used by these "hidden reactionaries" as a form of political sabotage, and that attacks on cultural policy could be viewed by the authorities as a disguised way of promoting independence.

In the speech, broadcast on Tibet Radio on 9th November, the TAR Party Secretary Chen Kuiyuan said that the main objective under his leadership is to "eliminate all factors jeopardizing stability" in order to achieve the "goal of socialist modernisation".

Chen used a form of class analysis to identify the "hostile forces" who are attacking Tibet. Three of these forces are

well known - the Dalai Lama's followers in exile, his western supporters, and the pro-independence activists or "saboteurs" within Tibet. But in the speech he identified, probably for the first time, a fourth category: the "behind-the-scenes sympathisers" within Tibet.

He referred to this new category as "a small handful of dangerous elements who have passed themselves off as upright persons with an ulterior motive and have mingled among us" and as "reactionaries long hidden inside the region". Chen told his audience that "we must pay particular attention" to the fourth kind of enemy.

Since October 1991 the Chinese authorities have admitted that some Tibetan cadres still have feelings of loyalty towards the Dalai Lama, and in July 1994 a meeting called the Third Forum on Work in Tibet identified this as a major problem. But it is very rare for the "patriotic personalities" to be targeted as a potential hostile category, or to be told this to their faces in public by the Party Secretary.

Chen told the Tibetans that the model of

the new kind of "hidden reactionary" is Chadel Rinpoche, the former abbot of Tashilhunpo Monastery in Shigatse, who was detained in 1995. Chadel Rinpoche was sentenced in May this year to six years for conspiring to split the nation and betraying state secrets after he informed the exiled Dalai Lama of details about the search for the reincarnation of the 10th Panchen Lama.

"There are certain individuals such as Qiazha [Chadel] who were trusted by and received special treatment by the party and government for many years, rebelled against the party and country at the crucial moment, and stabbed the party in the back," said Chen, who said Chadel Rinpoche was "not an isolated case among our ranks".

The public vilification of the former abbot suggests that he may be used as a model in a campaign to identify other disloyal figures amongst the "patriotic personalities" in Tibet, a prospect which will cause consternation among scholars and leading lamas in Tibet.

According to a television announce-

ment broadcast two hours before Chen's speech, the Party Secretary had made a rare inspection trip to Tashilhunpo, Chadré Rinpoche's former monastery in Shigatse, on 1st November. Chen told the monks there that Chadré Rinpoche had been involved in "sabotage" and that the patriotic education campaign in monasteries was "an important policy" in order to identify "a small handful of elements who do not observe religious discipline ... and did evil things". [Note: for more detail on Chadré Rinpoche see article "Senior Lama Sentenced" (TIN News Update/ 9 May 1997) in Arrests section]

"If the management committees of all temples and lamaseries can take up their responsibility to properly control lamas and guide them to seriously study Buddhist scriptures and observe the state laws and system, the government will not be required to dispatch work teams to conduct education at temples and lamaseries", Chen told the Tashilhunpo monks.

Criticism of Culture Policy is "Dalai's Rubbish in Disguised Form"

The Party Secretary also made it clear in his 7th November speech to the "patri-

otic personalities" that the new kind of "hidden" enemy works through a new method - instead of using street protests or calls for independence, the "hidden reactionary" criticises China's cultural and religious policies in Tibet. "We should pay attention to one matter: lately, hostile forces have picked up a new point in attacking us, that is, they have attacked us for allegedly destroying the Tibetan culture, religion, and language," said Chen, identifying this as a form of class struggle.

The criticism of China's cultural policy had been spread by the Dalai Lama and foreign broadcasters, but "the Dalai's rubbish" was now being repeated by Tibetans inside Tibet, said Chen. "Posters and anonymous letters inside the region also used the fallacy in attacking us [and] at a few public venues, some people even peddled the Dalai's rubbish in a disguised form," he told the meeting, which would have included Tibetans who have criticised his cultural policies.

The "patriotic personalities" in Tibet are all members of a honorary body called the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference which is expected to give public endorsement of all

China's political policies in Tibet. It has been allowed until now to criticise details of its economic and cultural policies, particularly those concerning the use of Tibetan language in education and administration. Children in primary schools learn in Tibetan, but the only scheme in the TAR offering secondary school education with Tibetan as the teaching medium was dropped last year.

Chen defined criticism of such policies as an attempt by the Dalai Lama "aimed at sowing political dissension between the nationalities to serve his scheme on independence of Tibet". "We all must be clearly aware of his scheme," said the Party Secretary. He added that the loyalty of "patriotic personalities" and of any Tibetan standing for an official position would be tested by their past political word - above all, by the way they had responded in 1995 to the dispute over the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, which he defined as a "critical moment" in recent history. "We will never forget those who stood together with us through storm and stress at the crucial moments in Tibet... We will judge people from their attitude against the Dalai's scheme to split the motherland," said Chen.

Chinese Press on Culture, Spiritual Civilisation and Education

Summaries of selected articles from the Chinese press concerning culture, spiritual civilisation and education in Tibet during 1997. The date at the head of each item shows when the article was published or broadcast in China; the date in brackets at the end of each item indicates when the article was published in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts. The articles were published in 1997 unless stated otherwise.

Culture

In a new approach to the issue of Tibetan culture, Chen Kuiyuan, the Party Secretary in the TAR, said in a speech in July that it should be seen as separate from Tibetan Buddhism and in November he added that some cultural figures were "hidden reactionaries". A major feature film showing the British invasion of Tibet was produced in April, apparently to counter the expected propaganda gains of forthcoming Hollywood films featuring Tibet.

Construction of the main part of the Tibet museum was completed in Lhasa and a group of Tibetan artists embarked on a tour of several European countries. The press also dealt with the preservation of cultural relics in Tibet and the investments made by the central government to promote culture in Tibet, including a plan to build 538 cultural centres in the TAR.

8th March

"Restore Tibet's Historical Truth", an annotated commentary on the book "Tibet - A Political History" by Shakabpa Wangchuk (finance minister of the Tibetan Government, who died in exile), was published by the Beijing Nationalities Publishing House in Tibetan and Chinese. According to scholars and historians, the new book "restores Tibet's historical truth, because it clarifies the facts and corrects mistakes", Xinhua reported

(SWB 15th March).

4th April

"Red River Valley", a feature film depicting Tibetans and Chinese fighting against the British invaders of 1903-4, received public acclaim, according to Xinhua (SWB 8th April).

12th May

The TAR plans to build 538 cultural centres in counties and towns in the next few years, according to Xinhua.

Each is to provide books and entertainment facilities. Children will be especially catered for and the region will continue to develop amateur theatrical troupes to give performances for farmers. (SWB 13th May).

11th July

Chen Kuiyuan, the TAR Party Secretary, gave a speech outlining artistic policy in Tibet, according to the Tibet Daily. In the speech, Chen said that some artistic works in Tibet lacked

contact with reality, were ideologically incorrect and did not show the healthy modern Tibet. It was wrong to equate Tibetan culture with Buddhism, he said, as much of Tibetan culture had no connection with the religion. He said that lack of the Chinese language was hampering the development of Tibet, and that Tibet should adopt the views on culture of Mao, Deng and Jiang Zemin, in order to develop art and literature (SWB 5th August).

27th July

A Tibetan Arts Group of 30 artists left Beijing to begin a 40 day tour of Europe. The group will present Tibetan traditional music, dance and art International festivals in Italy and Switzerland, and then hold several cultural exchange activities in Greece. This is the first time that the TAR has presented its traditional music, dance and art forms to these three countries, said Xinhua (SWB 29th July).

27th July

The newly constructed Tibet Library in Lhasa now holds nearly 600,000 books in its collection, including 40,000 ancient books and some very rare editions, according to Xinhua (SWB 29th July).

13 August

Construction work on most of the Tibet museum had been completed,

according to Xinhua. The museum is one of 62 projects, mostly cultural, financed by the central government for the autonomous region's development. The museum has more than 100,000 relics, dating back to the early Stone Age 500,000 years ago (SWB 14th August).

1st October

Construction work on most of the Tibet Museum has been completed at a cost to the central government of more than 100m yuan (US\$12m). A special ceremony was held for the unveiling of the museum's name, written by President Jiang Zemin. Yang Chuantang, vice-chairman of the regional People's Government, said that the museum would provide "iron clad proof" that Tibet had been part of China since ancient times, according to Xinhua (SWB 3rd October).

6th October

A team from the Law Enforcement Inspection Team of the National People's Congress completed a fact-finding mission and "confirmed the extensive protection of cultural relics and historical archives in the TAR". "Protection measures" for the Potala Palace are being considered by the TAR authorities, which has "extended great efforts to finance relics protection programmes". They stressed that this is especially important in minority areas in order "to maintain the coun-

try's diverse and rich cultural traditions" (SWB 6th October).

20th October

36 cultural relics have been confiscated from a cultural relics peddler by the TAR Public Security Bureau and returned to the Tibet Museum, according to Xinhua. The most valuable was the statue of the ninth Karmapa [Karmapa] from Tsurphu monastery, which has a history of hundreds of years (SWB 22nd October).

4th January 1998

Two Chinese legislators urged immediate action to rescue and protect more than 3 million historic documents and papers, dating from the Yuan dynasty, stored in the Tibet Archives (SWB 6th January 1998).

21st January 1998

Xinhua carried a report criticising the American film "Seven Years in Tibet" for distorting historical facts and exaggerating the stature of the Dalai Lama and Heinrich Harrer (SWB 27th January 1998).

25th January 1998

Historical records show that Tibet was a Yuan dynasty province, said Xinhua (SWB 28th January 1998).

5th February 1998

A former senior reporter for Xinhua has published a book about Tibet during the 1950s (SWB 6th February 1998).

Spiritual Civilisation

In March, a regional propaganda meeting said that unprecedented progress had been made on the building of spiritual civilisation during 1996, and that one of the major tasks for the year was to make key breakthroughs and comprehensively promote the building of spiritual civilisation in the whole region. In April, an article in the Tibet Daily (Xizang Ribao) gave details of the extra problems encountered in Tibet during the construction of Party theory. In June efforts were focussed on the courts and the educational system. In November, Ragdi cited building a socialist spiritual civilisation as one of the guiding principles for work in Tibet during the new period and Gyaltsen Norbu criticised religious idealism and outdated customs. In December Ding Guangen, head of China's Central Propaganda Department, set out six goals of spiritual civilisation work and said that in 1998 the building of spiritual civilisation was to be developed.

4th March

At the four-day TAR propaganda and Ideological work meeting delegates reviewed the past year's work, declaring that "unprecedented progress had been made in propaganda and ideological work, and the building of the spiritual civilisation" in the TAR during 1996, and that one of the major tasks this year had been to make key breakthroughs in and comprehensively promote the building of spiritual

civilisation in the whole region, according to Tibet TV. Danzim [Tenzin], deputy party secretary of the TAR party committee and Du Tal, executive deputy director of the TAR propaganda department, addressed the meeting. Puqung [Buchung], executive vice-chairman of the TAR people's congress, Jimzhong Gyaincaln Puncog [Gyaltsen Phuntsog], vice-chairman of the TAR CPPCC, and Jianzhub, political commissar of the

TAR PAP (Armed Police)

Headquarters, attended the meeting (SWB 10th March).

18th March

Achievements have been made in political work in prisons, according to an article in the Tibet Daily. The regional prison system has adopted effective measures to boost socialist spiritual civilisation in prisons, raising the quality of the police profession's appearance,

style of work and discipline.

4th April

A long article in the Xizang Ribao deals with problems encountered in construction of Party theory in Tibet, and argues that constructing theory is the basis for constructing spiritual civilisation. Party central groups have been used at all levels to develop theoretical study activities, with outstanding results. The basis is to study "Deng Xiaoping's Selected Works", then to study "Essentials of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's theory of Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics" and "Deng Xiaoping: Discussions on Constructing Socialist Spiritual Civilisation". The article lists problems encountered in Tibet which are additional to those encountered throughout China:

- Resisting and defeating the infiltration of the Dalai's separatist ideology
- Handling the relationship between traditional ideology and socialist spiritual civilisation
- Actively guiding religion to suit socialist society
- Strengthening unity between nationalities
- Overcoming the influence of local nationalism.

10th April

A regional conference on moral education in primary and secondary schools said that education on opposing splittist activities and education in "civilised habits" must be developed, according to an article in the Tibet Daily (SWB 24th April).

26th May

According to Xinhua, President Jiang Zemin addressed the first plenary session of the new Central Guidance Committee on Spiritual Civilisation Construction. He emphasised that great efforts should be made to implement the tasks of ideological, ethical and cultural construction, formulated by the 6th plenary session of the Party Central Committee, and said that Deng Xiaoping's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics was an important guide. He said that people should try to promote public spiritedness, professional ethics, family virtues, revolutionary ideals, sound morals, good education and a strong sense of discipline (SWB 28th May).

29th May

Gyalcan [Gyaltsen] Norbu said in the TAR government's annual work report that the building of spiritual civilisation had been increasingly stepped up during 1996. There had been strengthening of education of the people in the struggle against separatism, a stepping up of education in science and culture, and guidance of the masses in acquiring a Marxist world outlook. "Double-support" activities were carried out and the principle of "grasping two links at the same time and attaching equal importance to both of them" was adhered to. He summarised the present main tasks in the building of a spiritual civilisation as:

- (1) carrying out ideological construction by conducting education in patriotism and socialism;
- (2) stressing the improvement of the party's work style, the building of clean and honest government and the establishment of professional ethics;
- (3) changing prevailing habits and customs and eliminating the influence of feudal superstitions;
- (4) carrying out education among cadres about the Marxist concept of nationalities (SWB 5th July).

3rd June

The people's courts are making vigorous efforts to strengthen the building of spiritual civilisation by paying close attention to the study of theories, implementing the spirit of important meetings, and building professional ethics with serving the people as the central task, according to the annual Work Report of the courts published in the Tibet Daily (SWB 4th July).

15th June

Arrangements are being made for the educational system to put into effect the guidelines of the 6th plenary session of the 14th CCP Central Committee to step up socialist spiritual civilisation, according to an article published in the People's Daily (Renmin Ribao) (SWB 3rd July).

18th June

Chen Kulyuan, in a speech to the TAR CCP preparing for the 15th Party Congress, emphasised that successfully engaging in construction of spiritual civilisation was a basic measure in building socialism with Chinese characteristics, according to the Tibet Daily of 20th June.

17th August

A Xinhua commentary discussed spiritual civilisation in detail. It stated that, as instructed by President Jiang Zemin, the Central Guidance Committee for Building Spiritual Civilisation has made efforts to carry out in-depth investigation and study. The four aspects to be dealt with were civilised speech and behaviour, sanitation and the environment, service quality and transportation order. A telephone conference was held by the Central Guidance Committee to arrange for activities "promoting civilisation and fostering new style" (SWB 21st August).

17th November

Ragdi's speech to the Third Enlarged Plenary of the Fifth TAR CCP Committee included building a socialist spiritual civilisation as one of the guiding principles for work in Tibet in the new period, according to Tibet TV (SWB 20th November).

19th November

Gyaincain [Gyaltsen] Norbu, chairman of the TAR government, said that religious idealism, feudal superstition and outdated customs and habits were obstructing people from accepting new ideas, concepts and cultures, according to the Tibet Daily (SWB 11th December).

2nd-8th December

An article in the Tibet Daily on the "spirit" of the Third Enlarged Plenary of the Fifth Regional Party Committee says that the region has made unprecedented achievements in building spiritual and material civilisation. "Combining destruction with construction and accelerating the pace of eliminating chaos and ignorance" are objective requirements for strengthening the building of material and spiritual civilisations in the region (SWB 19th, 20th January).

3rd December

A new approach is needed to root out innate conservatism, nationalism, narrow-mindedness and contentment with the status quo, said a Tibet Daily article on emancipating the mind and implementing the spirit of the Third Enlarged Plenary. It said that the idea that "Tibet is unique" is a damaging concept, and called for a "strong sense of crisis, urgency and mission" to bring about breakthroughs in the region (SWB 20th January 1998).

25th December

Ding Guangen, chairman of the Central Guidance Committee for Building Spiritual Civilisation and head of China's Central Propaganda Department, set out six goals of spiritual civilisation work, in brief as follows: first, making the building of spiritual civilisation serve the needs of reform, development and stability and promoting balanced development of material and spiritual civilisation; second, extending the building of spiritual civilisation; third, raising young peoples' standards; fourth, extensively mobilising the masses to participate; fifth, strengthening management, including bringing into full play the media's supervisory role; sixth, seeking tangible results from the beginning

to the end, according to Xinhua (SWB 30th December).

15th January 1998

Ding Guangen said that in 1998 the most essential tasks were to uphold Deng Xiaoping Theory, cultivate a strong confidence in building socialism with Chinese characteristics and to maintain unity with the central leaders. He stressed that the guidelines of the 15th National Party Congress were to be studied, publicised and implemented, and said that the building of spiritual civilisation was to be developed, according to Xinhua (SWB 19th January 1998).

15th January 1998

Wei Jianxing, Politburo member and

Secretary of China's Discipline Inspection Commission, called for deepening of the spiritual civilisation campaign and said that building of spiritual civilisation "should play an active role in maintaining social stability". During 1997 noticeable achievements had been made in building spiritual civilisation, he said, stressing that the whole party and masses should be armed with Deng Xiaoping theory, that economic construction must be made a key link, that building of material civilisation should be organically integrated with building spiritual civilisation and that the cadres must persistently cater to the needs of the masses and serve and rely on them.

Education and the Tibetan Language

Progress was made in renovating primary schools, in setting up a library, and in creating a standard computer system using the Tibetan language. The literacy rate in the TAR was put at 60% in 1997; 284,000 pupils were said to be in primary schools, up from 157,000 in 1990, and the number in middle schools increased from 26,000 to 40,000 in the same period. The importance of Tibetan language publishing was stressed in Qinghai and in the TAR, and in the TAR the authorities said that teaching in primary schools is bilingual but that almost all of them use Tibetan as their instructing language.

31st March

During 1996 Tibet set up or renovated 87 primary and middle schools, and the school enrolment rate reached 73.5% for school age children, 3.1% higher than in 1995; the "large, modern and multi-functional" TAR Library was also completed and opened to the public, according to Xinhua (SWB 1st April).

10th April

A regional conference on moral education in primary and secondary schools concluded that from the point of view of developing the economy and stabilising the situation, moral education, including education on opposing split-tact activities and education in "civilized habits", must be developed in an all-round way, according to an article in the Tibet Daily. The meeting was attended by leaders from the regional Party committee's propaganda department, the regional educational commission, the regional committee of the Communist Youth League, the Tibet Daily, prefectural and city propaganda and educational departments, and some primary and secondary schools. Damba Gyalcan [Tenpa Gyaltsen], deputy director of the TAR regional education commission,

summed up the achievements and experiences of Tibet's primary and secondary schools in moral education over the last few years, analysed moral education in primary and secondary schools throughout the TAR and pointed out the problems existing in moral education in primary and secondary schools (SWB 24th April).

30th April

Computer researchers have worked out standard coding of the Tibetan language, according to Xinhua (SWB 5th May).

22nd June

Efforts are being made in Qinghai Province to encourage the use of ethnic languages, including Tibetan, according to Xinhua. Qinghai Publishing House has published 3.5 million copies of more than 300 titles in ethnic languages and the province has detailed regulations on ethnic language protection and development; there are newspapers, magazines, local television and radio stations in ethnic languages.

13th July

30 Chinese publishing houses donated 435,000 yuan to publish books for

Tibetan children in Chinese and Tibetan. Sources said that the money would be used for collecting and publishing Tibetan folk literature, according to Xinhua (SWB 19th July).

12th October

The Tibetan language has been encoded for information technology to international standards, and Tibet University has set up a computer network on campus that works in Tibetan, according to Xinhua (SWB 17th October).

23rd October

The literacy rate in the TAR was 60% in 1997, rising from 5% in the 1950s, according to Xinhua. There were 284,000 pupils at elementary schools in 1997, up from 157,000 in 1990, and the number in high schools increased from 26,000 to 40,000 in the same period (SWB 24th October).

25th November

The Tibet High School in Beijing celebrated its 10 year anniversary, according to Xinhua (SWB 28th November).

2nd January 1998

Local governments throughout the TAR are encouraging the use of the

Tibetan language, according to Xinhua. The article states that Tibet has 60 kinds of newspapers and periodicals, half of them in Tibetan, and emphasises that Tibetan may be used for lawsuits, government documents, software and broadcasting (SWB 5th January 1998).

7th January 1998

There are 15 private schools teaching foreign languages (including Chinese, Tibetan and English) and computing in Lhasa, according to Xinhua (SWB 9th January 1998).

18th January 1998

A bilingual education system is being used in the TAR, further to a regulation promulgated by the autonomous regional people's congress, according to Xinhua. The article stated that only 0.58% of primary schools in Tibet use Chinese as their instructing language.

2. Propaganda

Summary

A "new phase" in the Chinese campaign against the Dalai Lama commenced in April, according to Yao Dian, vice-president of the TAR Party School, with the publication of four articles by Xinhua. These articles were aimed at discrediting the Dalai Lama, but used more historical evidence than previous statements. The TV report on the articles emphasised that they had been issued by the central authorities in Beijing. The content of the articles indicated a continuation of the hard-line approach. The language used to attack the Dalai Lama became still harsher by November, when Ragdi described the

struggle against the Dalai clique as a "political and class struggle" and a "life and death class struggle between the masses and the restorationist forces of the feudal serf owners". By 26th November, a Tibet TV commentary was calling for "total war".

In June/July, official celebrations, attended by 10,000 people, were held in Lhasa to mark the hand-over of Hong Kong. Sources said that people selected at random were obliged to attend the festivities, and government employees were told that their annual bonuses would be cancelled if they did not attend. Speeches given during the hand-over period

emphasised security considerations; most speeches linked Hong Kong's return to the struggle against the independence movement, describing it as proof of a historical tide of unifying the motherland. Much of the publicity referred to the British invasion of Tibet in 1903-4 and an independently produced Chinese film released at the same time, "Red River Valley", portrayed Tibetans and Chinese united in resisting the British invasion. The film was heavily publicised by the official Chinese press and was described by Xinhua as having caused a "patriotic sensation" in China.

Tibet Sends Tapestry to Hong Kong

Extract from TIN News Update/28 June 1997

The government of the Tibet Autonomous Region has marked the Hong Kong handover by sending a tapestry to Hong Kong as a sign that the "various ethnic groups [in Tibet] cherish Hong Kong's return to the embrace of the motherland".

The tapestry is embroidered with the words "Celebrate the Establishment of the Hong Kong Special Administrative

Region" on it in Tibetan and Chinese, and is 240 cms long, to represent the 2.4 million people in the Tibet region, according to a Xinhua report on 1st June.

A week's public holiday has been announced for all offices in Lhasa from the day of the Hong Kong hand-over, according to one report. Government employees in some offices have been told that their annual bonuses will be cancelled if they do not attend the official celebrations, said an informed source.

Extract from TIN News Update/28 June 1997

Tibetans in Lhasa who work for the government are all expected to attend celebrations in the new parade square in front of the Potala Palace on 1st July. Each government office has had to provide a troupe to sing or dance during the celebration, according to local sources and all government employees will receive bonus payments to mark the Hong Kong hand-over.

New Phase in Anti-Dalai Campaign

Extract from "China Gathers Support on Tibet, Opens New Phase in Anti-Dalai Lama Campaign", TIN News Update/1 July, 1997

China is circulating four major articles attacking the Dalai Lama among western politicians as part of a "new phase" in its campaign against the independence movement in Tibet.

The articles were distributed by Chinese embassies to members of Parliament in the UK and Germany in May in order to "disclose a good number of facts previously unknown to the public".

The four articles were released by Xinhua between 17th and 22nd April, but their ideological significance only became known in May, when they were distributed to western MPs and

when the Party School in Tibet announced that it had held a meeting to "penetratingly expose and criticize the Dalai's crimes" by studying the four articles. Reports of Party School meetings are relatively unusual, and statements by the School are presumed to have a definitive role in ideological matters.

"The publication of the articles indicated that the struggle to expose and criticize the Dalai and to fight splittism has entered a new phase," said Yao Jian, vice-president of the Party School, according to a TV broadcast monitored by the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts on 14th May.

"The Xinhua news agency's commentaries have been rational and systematic; they have condemned justly and severely, used irrefutable evidence, and thoroughly repudiated the Dalai's hypocrisy and false images," the Party School announced.

The four documents give more detail to discredit the Dalai Lama than previous statements, indicating a re-launching of a personal attack on the Dalai Lama, but this time using rational evidence and avoiding abusive language. China's top leaders called for an anti-Dalai Lama campaign to be launched in July 1994.

The articles, which are unsigned "commentaries", set out to answer four questions about the Dalai Lama: "Did he really ask for negotiations or is he using the guise of negotiations to engage in splittism?"; "Religious leader or obstacle to building religious order?"; "An apologist for peace or a fomenter of riots?"; and "Tibetan people's spokesman? or just a faithful tool of Western anti-China forces?".

The articles all aim to expose the "true face" or intentions of the Dalai Lama, which is to "split China", by producing historical evidence that his claims are misleading or dishonest.

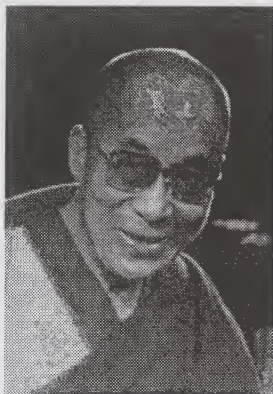
"The Dalai Lama has been engaged in a number of activities to wreck Tibet and the Buddhist religion He has never performed a single act in the interests of the monks and laymen in Tibet", says one of the articles. "In order to achieve his political aims of 'Tibetan independence', the Dalai Lama lied, created animosity between different ethnic groups and ... is the fomenter of repeated chaos in Tibet," states another of the four pieces.

The first article argues that the Dalai Lama's interest in negotiations is "a trick", because he made a public statement about negotiations in 1988 without telling the Chinese side first, he turned down an invitation to attend the Panchen Lama's funeral in 1989, and his brother spoke publicly about off the record discussions he had had

with Beijing in 1992 and 1993.

The exile Tibetan government issued a detailed rebuttal of these charges from its base in India on 28th April, describing them as a "gross distortion of reality intended to mislead the international public".

The second article says that the Dalai Lama's support for peace and non-violence is a "masquerade". It cites as evidence the facts that he set up the Tibetan guerilla force in the 1960s, his followers ran a radio service broadcasting into Tibet in the 1970s, meetings were held in India to organise demonstrations inside Tibet in the 1980s, and the Dalai Lama himself "tried everything possible to stir up riots in Tibet". However, the article does not repeat accusations in other recent Chinese articles that the Dalai Lama's followers arranged for bombs to be planted in Tibet.



Above, the Dalai Lama

The Dalai Lama's claim to be a religious leader is revealed in the third article to be "a cover" for a "political plot to split the motherland". The examples given are his 1995 selection of the new Panchen Lama without central government approval, his broadcasting of political speeches alongside religious teachings, his friendship with the Japanese cult leader Asahara, and the fact that he held a Buddhist ceremony - the Kalachakra - four times in one year when it should only be carried out once annually.

The last article deals with the Dalai Lama's claim to represent the Tibetan people, arguing that in fact he can be proven to be a "tool of Western anti-China forces" because he fled after the failure of the upper-class rebellion in 1959, he has criticised China's provision of education and its repairs of temples in Tibet, and because

he has supported Western countries in their criticisms of China.

Central Endorsement Hints at Dispute over Policy

The TV report on the Party School's assessment of the four articles focussed on the fact that the articles had been issued by the central authorities in Beijing, describing them as indicating "the most clear-cut stance, the most authoritative voice and the firmest determination of the Party Central Committee".

The emphasis on central endorsement suggests that the articles indicate support in Beijing for one faction in a dispute among local party leaders. Since October last year there have been widespread rumours that the Tibet Party Secretary Chen Kuizuan had been criticised for excessive leftism in the 1996 campaign of re-education in Tibetan monasteries, which focussed on personal denunciation of the Dalai Lama.

The faction in Beijing rumoured to have criticised headline policies in Tibet is associated with Li Ruihuan, head of China's nationality and religions policies and No. 6 in the Communist Party hierarchy, who gave a relatively soft-spoken description of Beijing's policy towards the Dalai Lama during a carefully stage managed speech in Switzerland last September.

A journalist from the French news agency AFP who was given permission to interview officials in Tibet last week also reported that the re-education campaign had "been judged too violent in Beijing", citing "well-placed sources".

"We know that certain temples are showing portraits of the Dalai Lama but we are also aware it takes time to change people's mentality," said Thubten, head of the Religious Affairs Bureau in the Tibet autonomous region, according to AFP. "It is up to us to persuade the population to stop worshipping his image," he added, implying that force would not be used.

Officials in Tibet are widely reported to be easing off last year's ban on photographs of the Dalai Lama, but there are few signs in the four articles of any other moderation in the hard-line approach.

Chen Kuizuan spent three months from December 1996 in Beijing and was rumoured to have been removed from his position, but he re-appeared in Lhasa in March, just before the articles were published, and is still at his post.

At least two of Tibet's other top leaders are reported by unofficial sources to have been summoned to Beijing for a six month period of personal political re-education during last winter, but further details are not known.

Hong Kong Hand-over and anti-Dalai Lama Campaign

During the build-up to the Hong Kong hand-over in June further articles were published developing the criticisms of the Dalai Lama.

"While the whole nation is celebrating joyously the return of Hong Kong ... the Dalai Lama clique is following their reactionary class instincts to revive their lost feudal serf system," reported the Tibet Daily on 18 June. "The historic trend of uniting the motherland cannot be

reversed. The only option for the Dalai Lama is to go along with the historic tide of unifying the motherland and to totally abandon thoughts of splitting it," stated the newspaper.

In the articles, the Dalai Lama is accused by the authorities of "masquerading himself as an apologist for peace and non-violence," while being "the fomentor of repeated chaos in Tibet under the banner of 'Independence for Tibet'".

"He has never performed a single act in the interests of the monks and laymen in

Tibet, nor has he made any contribution to the development of the region."

"In order to achieve his political aims of 'Tibetan independence', the Dalai Lama lied, created animosity between different ethnic groups and has tried everything possible to stir up riots in Tibet. [...] He hopes this will impede the development and progress of the region and will help separate Tibet from the motherland and restore his rule," states one article.

Tibet Marks Hong Kong Return with Celebrations, Film

TIN News Update/9 July, 1997

Ten thousand people attended official celebrations in Lhasa to mark the handover of Hong Kong last week, amid a surge of speeches linking the event to the defeat of the pro-independence movement in Tibet, according to reports by the Chinese press.

"The fluttering coloured flags around the square and the waving, brightly-coloured red flags bearing five stars stood tall and upright in the centre of the square, adding radiance and beauty to the blue sky and white clouds", said Xinhua of the main celebration, held in the new square in front of the Potala Palace on the morning of 1st July.

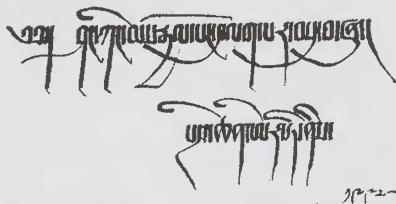
The Potala was decorated with coloured ribbons to mark the occasion "in special Tibetan form", according to Xinhua, which said that 1,997 pigeons and 1,997 balloons were released - one for each year - while the Chinese national anthem was sung to celebrate "the return of the Hong Kong compatriots to the embrace of the motherland".

But an unofficial source in the Tibetan capital claimed that the rally, at which government employees were expected to sing songs or perform dances to celebrate Hong Kong's return, was only given the go-ahead at the last minute because of concerns about security. "There were Chinese flags on almost every rooftop, including the Potala and the Jokhang Temple, but the celebrations were almost cancelled because of security fears and lasted less than two hours," said the source, who did not want to be named.

"Local neighbourhood committee officials went into houses and selected people at random who were then obliged to attend the festivities," he claimed. The report could not be verified. There were unconfirmed reports from another Lhasa resident of a semi-official curfew in the city

from 8pm on the days leading up to the handover period, but the restriction was not formally announced and was only loosely enforced, according to the source.

"Over the past few days, Lhasa has been permeated with a festive atmosphere," reported Xinhua on 1 July. "Streets were decorated with lanterns and coloured hangings, and old and young people sang, talked and laughed merrily. Eye-catching posters with slogans celebrating the reversion of Hong Kong, safeguarding the re-unification of the motherland, and strengthening national unity, were hung on the gate of the Dazhao [Jokhang] Temple," stated Xinhua.



Above, "Welcome to Hong Kong's return to the embrace of the motherland", an inscription by the Chinese-appointed 11th Panchen Lama

Hong Kong as Proof that Independence Movement Will Fail

Speeches given by Chinese and Tibetan leaders during the hand-over period in Tibet also emphasised security considerations, with most speeches linking Hong Kong's return to the struggle against the independence movement.

"In thirty days our nation resumes the exercise of sovereignty in Hong Kong," Chen Kuiyuan, Regional Party Secretary, said in the most triumphalist of the Hong Kong speeches in Lhasa, delivered to a Party meeting in early June.

"Hong Kong's century-old interchange of land and sea truly recorded the arduous and hard course through which the Chinese nation moved from humiliation to rejuvenation," Gyaltzen Norbu, chairman of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) government, told the 1st July rally. "History has confirmed an irrefutable truth that the re-unification of the motherland and its prosperity are where the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation lies, and are the common desire of the people of various nationalities in China," he said.

"Western anti-Chinese forces do not

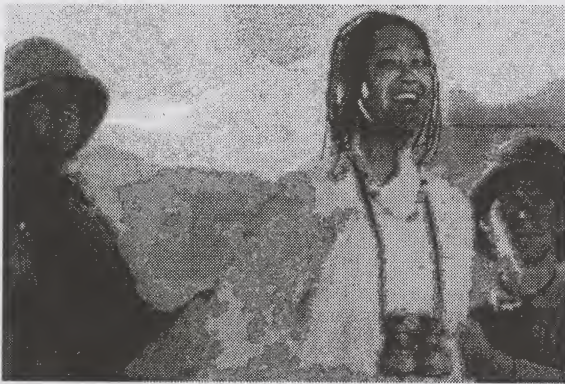
have the ability to resist the historic tide of unity for the motherland and nor does the Dalai Lama," reported Tibet Daily, according to a Reuters report on 18th June, which did not give the date of the newspaper article.

"The only exit for the Dalai Lama is to go with the historic tide of unifying the motherland and totally abandon thoughts of splitting it," stated the Tibet Daily. "The historic trend of uniting the motherland cannot be reversed," it said.

Last week Pasang, a deputy secretary of the Tibet Communist Party, gave a sim-

ilar warning. "The return of Hong Kong should permit us ... to carry on until the end of the battle against the separatist clique of the Dalai Lama," she said, according to a report by the French news agency AFP, citing the Tibet Daily edition of 5th July.

Less than 40 British soldiers died during the expedition, which was designed to deter a non-existent Russian plan to extend its influence to Tibet. Almost all of the acting parts in the film are played by Chinese soldiers from the People's Liberation Army dressed as Tibetan soldiers, monks and British troops, and the directors and producers were also all Chinese. Two American actors, Nick Love and Paul Kersey, took parts in the film as British officers, one of whom ends by criticising the British role in Tibet.



Above, a shot from "Red River Valley"

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Tibet Film Causes "Patriotic Sensation"

Government employees in Lhasa, and in many parts of China, have been given free tickets to see a Chinese-made film about British aggression, apparently as part of a propaganda effort designed to coincide with the Hong Kong hand-over.

The film, *Red River Valley*, produced by the Shanghai Film Studios and claimed by its makers to be the first full-length film shot in Tibet, was produced independently but has received enthusiastic support from Chinese government officials and the official press.

Red River Valley is a love story set against the backdrop of the British invasion of Tibet of 1904 which, under the leadership of Francis Younghusband, resulted in the massacre of at least 2,700 Tibetans, by Younghusband's own count.

The film stresses the unity among Tibetans and Chinese in showing first friendship to peaceful foreigners and then resistance to foreign aggressors. "Both the Hans and the Tibetans united to defend their homeland against British colonists hoping to claim the exotic area as their own," explained Xinhua. "Moviegoers will get a hefty dose of Tibet's blue skies, clear rivers and snow-capped plateaux, and also be exposed to the unique customs of the Tibetan people", it continued.

"Tibet is part of an even greater land," concludes the repentant British officer at the end of the film. "This a nationality which will never give in or disappear, behind which is the East, a piece of land we can never conquer," he continues, according to Xinhua.

"*Red River Valley* depicts Tibetans and Hans and their show of patriotism when fighting against British invaders in the late 19th century," said Xinhua on 4th April. "The film has won favourable comments from local movie experts, who said the movie honoured the persistent spirit of the Chinese people in fighting against foreign invasions," stated the

news agency in an earlier report on 7th March.

Feng Xiaoning, the director, described the film's theme as patriotism. "Patriotism is very important to a nation whenever it is in danger, or when it is stepping towards prosperity," he told Xinhua.

The film was endorsed by Sun Jiazheng, China's Minister of Radio, Film and Television, who described it as "the best film I have seen since taking my post", and in late April Xinhua said it had caused "a patriotic sensation in China". British, French, Australian and American companies including Warner Brothers and 20th Century Fox had all contacted the producers about acquiring distribution rights, claimed the agency.

The film has been variously described as costing 10 or 15 million yuan (\$1.2 or \$1.8 million), but was said by Xinhua to have been one of the most expensive in Chinese film history. The main location filming was carried out near Gyantse in August last year with a 60-strong film crew, together with about 100 soldiers from local units of the PLA to work as extras and to provide explosions and effects.

The local authorities in Gyantse have raised 1 million yuan (\$105,000) to repair the fort at Gyantse, the site of the main British battle in 1904, according to the People's Daily on 17th June. The authorities announced in December 1994 that they would develop and repair buildings at Gyantse, as well as a museum about British aggression, to "turn them into important bases for patriotic education". The sites would be useful not only "for exposing the political background of the Dalai clique and the dark side of the feudal serfdom of old Tibet, but they are also rare sites and teaching materials for education in China's modern and contemporary history and in patriotism for youths," reported the Tibet Daily at the time.

Red River Valley opened in China in late April, six weeks before a second film was launched to coincide with the Hong Kong celebrations. The Opium War, premiered at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on 9 June in front of Sun Jiazheng and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, describes China's defeat in the wars which led to the ceding of Hong Kong to the British in 1842. The film, which is billed as "history all Hong Kong people ought to know", was directed by Xie Jin, and cost \$10 million. It has already been purchased for distribution in Singapore, Korea, Japan, Thailand and Taiwan, according to the Far Eastern Economic Review.

Chinese Press on the Dalai Lama

Summaries of selected articles from the Chinese press concerning the campaign against the Dalai Lama during 1997. Summaries of articles on religion and the patriotic education drive can be found in the section on re-education. The date at the head of each item shows when the article was published or broadcast in China; the date in brackets at the end of each item indicates when the article was published in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts.

26th March

Gyamco [Gyatso], vice-chairman of the TAR government, accused the Dalai Lama of hypocrisy, according to a report by Zhongguo Xinwen She. Gyamco said that in recent years the Dalai Lama "has been talking glibly about democracy, freedom, and human rights in the international arena" knowing that Tibet in the past was a "society of serfs" with the Dalai Lama clique as masters of the "feudal slavery social system" (SWB 1st April).

13th April

The TAR Party School held a report meeting to "penetratingly expose and criticise the Dalai's crimes". Yao Dian, vice-president of the TAR party school, chaired the report meeting (SWB 16th May).

17th April

The first in a series of four Xinhua commentators' articles on the Dalai Lama reiterated the Chinese central government's preconditions that the Dalai Lama had to fulfil before negotiations between the two could start. Although the Dalai Lama had recently said that he wanted to seek autonomy for Tibet, he still "continued to distort Tibet's history in various public occasions" by declaring that "historically Tibet is an independent country", said the article. This "is an attempt to mislead the public" and "facts are sufficient to prove that the Dalai does not really want to negotiate with the central government". The commentary said that he was "using negotiations as a facade to deceive public opinion and to win sympathy" and also accused him "of playing a trick to expand his activities to split the motherland" (SWB 22nd April).

20th April

The second of the four Xinhua commentators' articles on the Dalai Lama accused him of "using Tibetan Buddhism as a political tool to incite separatism". It also accused him of engaging in activities to wreck Tibet and the Buddhist religion, to destroy

the religion's normal order, and of violating religious disciplines. "On the surface the Dalai seemed to have a special interest in religious activities" but, according to the commentary, "it's not hard for discerning people to see that the Dalai's religious activities have not only become extremely absurd in form, but [have] also strayed far from the essence of Tibetan Buddhism in design". The Dalai Lama "has stood as the biggest obstacle to building the normal order of Tibetan Buddhism" and his activities, which have had a detrimental impact on Tibetan Buddhism, "have revealed his true colours as one who uses religion for separatist purposes" (SWB 22nd April).

21st April

The third in the Xinhua commentators' articles said the Dalai Lama has "masqueraded himself as an apologist for peace and Ahimsa (Love and Non-violence) whilst engaging in activities which have created trouble for Tibet," according to the article which was published on 21st April. The Dalai Lama is accused of having "given no thought to the fundamental interests of the country and the Tibetan people", and of having made "up lies, created animosity between the different ethnic groups, and done everything possible to stir up riots in Tibet" in order to achieve his political aim of Tibetan independence (SWB 22nd April).

22nd April

The last in the Xinhua commentators' articles said the Dalai Lama was a faithful tool of Western anti-China forces. His activities on the international scene represented the "interests of former serf owners in Tibet" and of "Western anti-China forces with whom he has colluded and for whom he has been a most willing tool" rather than the interests of the Tibetan people. He is "a politician in exile in religious clothing engaged in splitting the motherland" who has been "dressed up as a merciful religious leader" by the Western anti-China forces. The com-

mentary said that the "attempts by Western anti-China forces to contain China's development and to hide the truth and mislead the public on Tibet's achievements will ultimately fail" and the Dalai Lama as their tool would "come to no good end" (SWB 23rd April).

13th May

The TAR Party School held a report meeting on 13th May to study the four Xinhua commentator articles on the Dalai Lama, according to a Tibet TV report from 14th May. Yao Dian, vice-president of the autonomous regional Party School and chairman of the report meeting, said that "the publication of the articles indicated that the struggle to criticise the Dalai and to fight spittism has entered a new phase". Pan Jiansheng, associate professor of the TAR Party School, said that the four articles had "thoroughly repudiated the Dalai's hypocrisy and false images" and that they "indicated the most clear-cut stance, the most authoritative voice and the firmest determination of the Party Central Committee" in the struggle against the Dalai (SWB 16th May).

14th May

An article published in the Tibet Daily on 14th May warned that the "Dalai clique was the principal source affecting Tibet's stability". The article said that "the essence of the struggle is not an issue of believing in religion or not or between autonomy and no autonomy, it is a cardinal issue of right and wrong". The Dalai Lama is accused of being the "chief source breeding social turmoil in Tibet, and the biggest obstacle to Tibetan Buddhism in establishing its normal order". The paper warned that "only by adopting powerful measures according to law to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the Dalai clique can it be fundamentally ensured that our region will have lasting peace and stability and prosperity and progress" (SWB 30th June).

21st May

The Sixth Regional Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee (CPPCC) of the TAR ended its fifth session on 21st May. Pagbalha Geleg Namgyal (Phagpa-lha Geleg Namgyal), chairman of the CPPCC Tibet Regional Committee, said in his closing speech to the session that it was an "important task of CPPCC organisations across Tibet to expose and denounce the Dalai Lama's crime of splitting the motherland and doing harm to Tibet and to Tibetan Buddhism". Pagbalha stressed that "all CPPCC members in Tibet must maintain a clear mind and take a firm and clear-cut stand in the struggle against the Dalai Lama's separatist activities" and use "facts and truths to help the people (become) immune against the deception of the Dalai clique" (SWB 23rd May).

16th July

Zhu Muzhi, president of the China Society for Human Rights Studies, returning from a human rights tour of four European countries, said that Tibet under the Dalai Lama's rule was a "serf society more oppressive than Europe in the Middle Ages" (SWB 18th July).

5th August

Gyalcan (Gyaltsen) Norbu, chairman of the TAR government, in an interview with Japanese journalists in Lhasa, said that "the Dalai clique had carried out some bombing activities and are still attempting to carry out some assassination activities",

according to a Xinhua (Hong Kong) report on 6th August. He added that "the general situation in Tibet is stable at present but it should not be ruled out that the Dalai clique will carry out some other activities" (SWB 11th August).

17th September

Ragdi, executive deputy secretary of the TAR Party Committee, questioned the Dalai Lama's stated non-violence stand. Ragdi, speaking at a press conference in Beijing during the 15th National Party Congress, said that "colluding with Western hostile forces, secessionists led by the Dalai have been conducting sabotage and have repeatedly created disturbances", according to Xinhua. "How can one say he stands for peaceful means?" Ragdi enquired (SWB 30th September).

27th October

Xinhua announced that the China Internet News Centre has put a video documentary about the 14th Dalai Lama online. The 90-minute documentary, the first in a series made by China Central Television and China Wuzhou Mass Communication Centre, uses historical documents, most of which are revealed for the first time, to show how the Dalai Lama "practised serfdom in Tibet, defected his motherland and engaged in splitting China" (SWB 28th October).

17th November

Ragdi described the struggle against

the Dalai clique as a "political and class struggle" and a "life and death class struggle between the masses and the restorationist forces of the feudal serf owners", according to the Tibet Daily of 19th November. Raidi, in his speech to the third plenary session of the Fifth TAR Party Committee, said that this "struggle is crucial to the fundamental interests of the nation and the state, and there is no room for compromise. Therefore, the attitude towards this issue is the most important yardstick for measuring each and every cadre and worker in Tibet" (SWB 15th December).

26th November

A Tibet TV commentary called for the declaring of "total war - in thinking and in theory and in the ideological realm - on the Dalai and his separatist forces". This "was the ideological and political foundation for Tibet to advance to the new century," the commentary said (SWB 29th November).

4th December

The Dalai Lama's "reactionary class nature will not change and he will continue to oppose us and carry out interference and sabotage", according to the Tibet Daily of 4th December. The article said that it was necessary to "wage tit-for-tat struggle in the major battle-grounds such as culture, education and religion where Dalai is carrying out political infiltration" (SWB 20th January 1998).

3. Re-education & Religion

Summary

The re-education, or patriotic education, campaign which began in the three great monasteries around Lhasa in May 1996 continued to dominate religious life in Tibet during 1997, when it was extended to smaller institutions throughout the region. Following the publication of four articles attacking the Dalai Lama in April, Raidi called in May for intensified patriotic education in monasteries, and in June Chen Kuiyuan declared that the campaign to re-educate

monks and nuns was a fundamental part of the Party's policy in the TAR. A French journalist who made an official visit to Lhasa in June was told that the re-education campaign would be conducted in a more gradual way than before, but there was no sign of this being the case.

Unofficial reports indicated various forms of resistance to the campaign in rural monasteries in central Tibet. In June, in Gongkar county, a monk was arrested after his colleagues disrupted a re-educat-

tion meeting and refused to give written denunciations of the Dalai Lama, and in Nyemo county a group of monks were locked into their monastery for at least three weeks for refusing to co-operate. In Tsethang county, a small monastery was closed down after the monks walked out en masse in protest at re-education demands. In several monasteries, re-education teams were reported to be carrying arms.

In November, it was announced that

patriotic education was to be extended to "agricultural communities, towns, cities, government organs and schools". In the same month, Jampa Kelden, chairman of the TAR Nationalities and Religious Affairs Commission, said that patriotic education was to be deepened "in all fields in order to totally smash the sepa-

ratist scheme to divide the motherland". He also said that new measures were needed to "eliminate the Dalai's influence and win people's hearts". A series of long and detailed reports on the methods and objectives of patriotic education were published in the Tibet Daily, including one describing the results so far achieved

in Lhunthe county (Lhokha prefecture). The probable intention behind these reports was to prepare laypeople for a more widespread drive in 1998. In November 1997 a Tibet Daily report stated that the second stage of patriotic education had begun.

Re-Education of Monks is a "Basic Policy", says Chen

TIN News Update/28 July, 1997

China's top official in Tibet has declared that the current campaign to re-educate monks and nuns is a fundamental part of the Party's policy in the region. The statement in effect outlaws any criticism of the campaign.

The announcement goes against earlier reports that leaders in Tibet had been persuaded to moderate the year-long campaign, which has led to teams of Party officials visiting every monastery or nunnery in the region to demand denunciations of the exile Dalai Lama.

"Successfully engaging in the construction of spiritual civilisation and in patriotic education in the monasteries are Tibet's basic measures to carry out 'Comrade Deng Xiaoping's Theory of Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics'," said Chen Kuiyuan, Party Secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

The measures were "a fundamental constituent of the basic Party line", said Chen. He described criticisms of the education drive as "essentially co-ordinating actions with the Dalai clique", a phrase which implies that criticism could be considered a criminal offence.

The statement was made in the keynote speech of a crucial meeting on 18th June at which the Tibet branch of the

Communist Party gathered its delegates for the 15th Party Congress due to be held in Beijing this autumn.

The speech, parts of which were published verbatim in the Tibet Daily two days later, said that "certain persons with differing motives" had "viciously attacked our region's construction of spiritual civilisation and patriotic education in the monasteries".

The Party Secretary said that criticisms of the policy had been expressed "by hostile forces at home" as well as by foreigners, apparently confirming reports of internal disapproval of the region's hard-line approach on re-education.

Chen also announced that top Party cadres will be judged by their opposition to the Dalai Lama, a further indication that there has been disagreement within the Party leadership on the issue.

"For Tibet's leading cadres at all levels, the best touchstone to test their political steadfastness is the battlefield of the struggle with Dalai clique," Chen told the meeting. "This is the one basic thing in which to see a Party member's Party spirit," he said.

"If they cannot pass this barrier, then their other strengths are of no real significance," he added, referring to the Party's line that the "greatest emphasis should be on politics".

Last December there were unofficial reports from within Tibet that Secretary Chen had been criticised at a closed Party meeting that month for excessive zeal in the anti-Dalai Lama campaign waged in Tibetan monasteries since May 1996. Four weeks ago a French journalist who visited Tibet officially for the news agency AFP reported that an unnamed official in charge of the re-education drive in Tibet had been sent back to China after Beijing ruled that the campaign had been too violent.

The prominence given by the Tibet Daily to Chen's hard-line speech suggests that he has retained control over the re-education campaign and consolidated his position in the region. Although some of the views in the speech were described as his own opinions, the newspaper reinforced Chen's dominance in Tibet by printing with the extracts a centre-page portrait photograph of the leader. His photograph has rarely been published other than in group shots.

Chen Kuiyuan was appointed as leader of the Communist Party in Tibet in March 1992. He was born in Liaoning in North-east China in 1941 and has always worked in nationality areas of China. He was a member of the Party Committee in Inner Mongolia from 1989 and later a vice-Governor there until his transfer to Tibet.

Rural Monks Reject Patriotic Education

TIN News Update/31 July, 1997

Monks in at least three rural monasteries in central Tibet refused to co-operate with political re-education teams last month, according to unofficial reports from the area.

Re-education teams are carrying out three-month residencies in all Tibetan monasteries as part of a programme which began in May last year to instruct monks and nuns in patriotism under the slogan "Love the Country, Love

Religion".

In Gongkar county a monk has been arrested after his colleagues disrupted a re-education meeting by refusing to give written denunciations of the Dalai Lama, while in Nyemo county a group of monks has been locked into their monastery for at least three weeks for refusing to co-operate. In Tsethang county a small monastery has been closed down after its monks walked out en masse in protest at re-education demands.

Over 300 monks and nuns have sought asylum in Nepal and India this year, nearly three times the number in the same period last year, partly to avoid the demands of re-education officials, several of whom are now reported to be carrying arms.

The monk detained last month for protesting against a political re-education team was 20-year old Jampel Tendar, a member of Choede monastery in Gongkar county, Lhokha Prefecture.

Jampel Tendar was detained on 16th June after he put up handwritten posters around the monastery, 60 km south of Lhasa. The posters declared support for the Dalai Lama and Tibetan independence, according to informed sources in the area, and included a drawing of the Tibetan flag, which is outlawed in Tibet.

Jampel Tendar put up the posters after the Gongkar Choede monks disrupted an evening meeting at which the 78 monks of the monastery were expected to sit an examination and give written statements supporting China's policy on religion and criticising the Dalai Lama.

There were unofficial reports earlier this year that the requirement to criticise the Dalai Lama personally had been dropped in a bid to avoid antagonising Tibetans.

The Gongkar Choede monks are said to have chanted prayers for the Dalai Lama during the meeting instead of denouncing him, and to have rejected claims that China has allowed religious freedom and that the state had financed the monastery's reconstruction. The monks reportedly argued that religious freedom had been introduced by the Buddha not by the Chinese, and said that their monastery had

detained last year for protesting against re-education programmes in the major monasteries of Ganden, Drepung, Sera, Chamdo, Drayab and Sakya, and in at least four of those cases monks were reported to have died in custody or during arrest.

Monks leave monastery in protest

Two days after the arrest of Jampel Tendar at Gongkar Choede about 20 monks at another monastery in Lhokha staged a walk-out and closed down their monastery in protest at demands by a political re-education team, according to a separate source from the area.

All the monks of Samdrubling monastery, situated in Tsethang county in Lhokha prefecture, 85 km east of Gongkar Choede, walked out on 18th June after a work team began re-education classes in the monastery.

The monks decided to close down the monastery when local Party officials instructed them to criticise the Dalai Lama and to denounce the pro-independence movement, announcing that they preferred to return to their homes rather than oppose the Dalai Lama, which they said would constitute a breach of their "refuge" vows. The basic daily practice in the Tibetan tradition of Buddhism involves a declaration known as "taking refuge" in the lama or teacher, similar to a vow of loyalty.

The monks also told the team that their monastery, which is some 90 km south-east of Lhasa, had been rebuilt without government funds or assistance, according to the source, who asked not to be named. The remark suggests that resistance to the re-education team demands may be stronger in privately-funded and unofficial monasteries than in government-sponsored institutions.

The incident appears to have led to high-level political concern, according to the source, who said that Tenzin, a deputy secretary in the Tibet Communist Party, had visited the area when informed of the incident by the authorities in Lhokha prefecture.

Tenzin, the top party official with responsibility for propaganda and education in the Tibet region, arrived with a large escort of officials and announced that the monks should return to their monastery, said the source. The report could not be confirmed.

There were numerous reports last year of walk-outs by individual monks who objected to the re-education programme, and of mass refusals to denounce the Dalai Lama, but the Samdrubling report is the first account of a total boycott. It



Above, Patrotic education session at Drepung Monastery, July 1997

The 28-person team of officials from the local Communist Party had been stationed at the monastery for several months teaching the monks the correct answers to the examination questions.

A copy of the 24 questions due to be put to the monks shows that question two required the monks to list "the four aspects of the Dalai as defined by Comrade Li Ruihuan", China's chief Party official in charge of religious affairs.

The copy obtained by TIN, which was issued by a local re-education team in Lhokha on 25th May, gives the answers which the monks are supposed to have memorised. The correct answer to question two is that the Dalai is "the head of the serpent and the chief of the separatist organisation conspiring for independence for Tibet", "an unmistakable tool of the international forces opposed to China", "the root cause of social instability in Tibet", and "the biggest obstacle to the establishment of normal order in Tibetan Buddhism".

been restored with funds raised from local devotees after being destroyed on orders from the Chinese authorities.

At least fifteen of the monks joined a protest during the meeting, but details of the incident were not available.

Jampel Tendar, whose layname is Migmar, was held overnight at the monastery and taken to prison in Tsethang, the prefectural capital of Lhokha, on the morning of 17th June, an indication that his case is being treated as a serious offence.

Gongkar Choede, which was partially restored in the late 1980s after destruction 30 years ago, is an important monastery of the Sakya school founded in 1464, and is noted as the birthplace of a 16th century style of painting known as Khenri. The involvement of Sakya monks in the protest suggests that support for the Dalai Lama is much wider than the Gelugpa school, with which he is primarily associated.

There were similar cases of monks

brings to 50 the number of reports of monasteries or nunneries undergoing political education since the campaign began in May last year.

Most of the reports come from monks or nuns escaping to Nepal and India to avoid the re-education campaign. At least 320 monks and nuns sought refuge in Nepal or India in the first five months of this year, nearly three times the number in the same period last year.

In Nyemo county, about 100 km west of Lhasa, monks at the small monastery of Lingkhong are reported to have been locked into the monastery buildings by officials after they refused to sign a denunciation of the Dalai Lama. Lingkhong monastery was sealed off by officials in early June, according to a tourist who was in the area. The monastery, which is close to Nyemo town, has nine or ten monks, said the source, who asked not to be named.

The Lingkhong monks were reportedly told that they would be allowed out only if they agreed to sign the patriotic education declarations. The lock-in had lasted three weeks without the monks conceding to pressure when the western visitor the area one month ago, said the tourist, who asked not to be named.

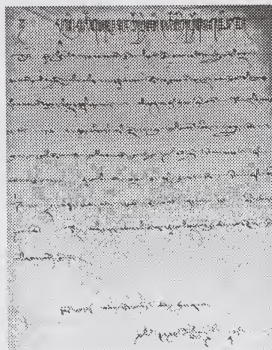
In Jonang Phuntsogling, 100 km west of Shigatse, some 15 monks in a local monastery have refused to co-operate with the education team and have walked out from their monastery, according to another European tourist who was in the area in early June. The monks were said to be in hiding from the police or trying to escape to Nepal.

An American tourist who visited the area in early May confirmed that re-education teams were active in the area, and added that a team of four cadres was stationed in the remote Jonang Kumbum, a fourteenth century tower-reliquary two hours walk south of Phuntsogling, which houses about ten monks.

The Jonang Kumbum monks "were frantic with worry" when the tourists walked near the classroom used by the re-education team. "It looked as though the monks had been threatened with something if their guests broke the rules," said the tourist.

Education Team Cadres Armed

In several monasteries the re-education teams are now known to be carrying arms, according to eye-witness reports. In the Drigung area, 80 km north-east of Lhasa, two western tourists separately reported



Above, photograph of poster at Sakya monastery - reference material for re-education sessions, September 1996

seeing political re-education officials carrying guns in a monastery.

"I saw a meeting between the monks and the Tibetan officials who had come from Lhasa", said a French tourist who visited Drigung Til monastery last month. "There was at least one plain-clothes policeman who had his pistol hanging out like a cow-boy," said the tourist, who asked not to be named.

A journalist working for an American

magazine who visited the area in early June also reported seeing armed education officials in the monastery, where he said about 120 monks were gathered together and made to sit down while a group of between six and ten plainclothes men walked round them.

"These plain-clothes men were the only people besides us not in robes," he said. "All these men wore loose fitting jackets. One of them read out a roll call and each monk was checked off. Then they started reading from a printed book about the Panchen Lama and China's historical role in Tibet," he added.

"They were not making any effort to hide the hand pistols concealed under their jackets and circled the seated monks throughout the re-education assembly," said the journalist, who asked to remain anonymous.

Last year there were a number of unconfirmed reports that re-education sessions were supervised by armed officials in plain-clothes.

The officials at Drigung Til were holding re-education sessions three times a week, with each session lasting half a day, and were expected to remain for six months, the journalist was told. A similar re-education programme had been held at the monastery last year, he reported, leading to 30 of the 150 Drigung monks being expelled for failing to complete re-education tests satisfactorily.

The journalist confirmed earlier reports of a major expulsion of nuns at nearby Terdrom nunnery, where over half of the 240 nuns were expelled last December at the conclusion of a three month re-education programme. "We spoke at great length with an ex-nun who had been forced out," he said. "She had spent her life as a nun from the time she was 12 and now suddenly at 28 she was being forced out of her nunnery and away from her teacher there."

Patriotic Education to be Extended to Schools and Villages

Extract from "New Party Chief in Lhasa; Chinese Heads Lhokha Government",
TIN News Update/7 December, 1997

The political re-education campaign which has been carried out in Tibetan monasteries since May 1996 is to be extended to lay Tibetans.

The announcement of the decision to extend the campaign was made on the day after the completion of a major Party meeting called the "Third Enlarged

Plenary of the Fifth TAR Party Committee". The meeting opened in Lhasa on 17th November and closed on 20th November.

Although the statement was issued by a minor official, it signalled an increase in efforts to suppress the pro-independence movement which could be more signifi-

cant than any of the leaders' speeches made during the four-day meeting. The decision could have major repercussions for political conditions in the region.

Jampa Kelden, head of the Nationalities and Religious Affairs Commission in the TAR, announced that steps should be taken to "spread patriotic

education in the agricultural communities, towns, cities, government organs and schools," according to the 21st November edition of the Tibet Daily, reported by the French agency AFP.

He told a party meeting that new measures were needed in order to "eliminate the Dalai's influence and win people's hearts. "Otherwise, if we only carry out the patriotic education in temples, the

instability will continue," he said.

"The influence of the Dalai Lama on the peasants, in the townships, schools and government organs is still serious ... A number of farmers and peasants are not quite convinced that Tibet is an inalienable part of China and they are not clear about the Dalai's true face. They do not know the source of Tibet's instability and some people in the government organisa-

tion, including leaders, do not strongly criticise the Dalai Lama and maintain unification of our country," he added.

Jampa Kelden also said steps should be taken against interference "from the air waves and from the ground", a reference to foreign radio broadcasts, according to AFP.

Chinese Press on Religion

Summaries of selected articles from the Chinese press concerning religion during 1997. The date at the head of each item shows when the article was published or broadcast in China; the date in brackets at the end of each item indicates when the article was published in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts. The articles were published in 1997 unless stated otherwise.

Religion

In March 1997, China's constitutional recognition of the right to freedom of religious belief was repeated by Premier Li Peng and by the Chinese delegation to the UN. Again in March, the Lhasa Party Secretary said that Tibet should intensify efforts in drafting local statutes governing management of religious affairs. Articles appeared in April indicating that the central authorities were taking action against unauthorised temples and Buddha statues. A White Paper on freedom of religious belief in China was issued in October, dealing with legal protection relating to religious rights.

Particularly during June, July and August, articles appeared quoting various leading religious figures to refute Western claims of religious persecution, including those made in the US State Department's report on religion. Statistics were given in a number of reports dealing with numbers of religious personnel and institutions and the amount invested in religion, for example in renovating monasteries in the TAR. In May Xinhua published an item on the sentencing of Chadrel Rinpoche, who had been a central figure in the selection of the 11th Panchen Lama, to six years imprisonment and three years' deprivation of political rights.

The Patriotic Education campaign received considerable attention in the official media, particularly in November when several items were published saying that monks themselves were complaining of chaotic management and relaxed discipline. These items were followed by some long and detailed reports on the methods and objectives of patriotic education.

1st March

Premier Li Peng, in the government work report to the NPC in Beijing, said that freedom of religious belief should be respected and citizens who have or do not have religious belief should not be discriminated against, according to Chinese Central TV. Management over religious affairs should be lawfully strengthened, and religion guided in such a way that it complies with the socialist system (SWB 3rd March).

1st March

General Secretary Jiang Zemin told NPC deputies from Gansu and Ningxia that religion must be handled correctly, religion must be conducted within the limits provided by the constitution and laws, and administration of religious affairs should be strengthened, according to Xinhua (SWB 4th March).

5th March

Zhao Puchu, chairman of the National

CPPCC's subcommittee on nationalities and religion and head of the Chinese Buddhist Association, called on ethnic and religious figures to assist the central authorities in safeguarding stability and unity, according to Xinhua (SWB 7th March).

7th March

It was stated in a discussion on China Radio International that China's policy on freedom of religious worship "is an effective guarantee for social stability" and that there would be no change to that policy after the death of Deng Xiaoping. The figure given for the number of Christians in China was "over 10 million" and for Islamists "over 20 million" (SWB 10th March).

14th March

Luosang Tenzinzhub (Lobsang Dondrub), the Lhasa City Party Secretary, said that Tibet must intensify efforts in drafting local statutes governing management of religious

affairs, according to the semi-official news agency Zhongguo Xinwen She. He also noted that efforts were under way to strengthen law enforcement work in Lhasa (SWB 24th March).

25th March

The adviser to the Chinese delegation to the UN Commission on Human Rights said that "discrimination and exclusion in political, economic, cultural and social life based on belief or non-belief in religion are not permitted (in China)", according to Xinhua. He also said that there are more than 100 million religious followers in China, over 2,000 religious groups, 200,000 teachers of various religions, 40 religious institutes and schools, and more than 70,000 sites of religious activity in the country (SWB 27th March).

25th March

Bi Hua, adviser to the Chinese delegation to the UNCHR and a specialist on Tibet, commented that since the late

1970s, China's government has appropriated more than 200m yuan [\$25m] to implement its religious policy in the TAR, where more than 1,700 religious sites have been renovated and are open to the public, according to Xinhua. The sites house more than 46,000 monks and nuns, more than 2% of the region's population (SWB 31st March).

4th April

The United Front and the Religious Affairs Bureau are said to have issued a circular ordering officials in China not to hold to religious beliefs and not to build temples or put up Buddha statues without permission, according to the unofficial Hong Kong paper Ming Pao. It claimed without giving sources that a survey had identified 40,000 unauthorised and 5,000 authorised Buddhist or Taoist temples in China, mostly constructed as "tourist attractions" by overseas Chinese (SWB 12th April).

9th June

A leading official of the State Council's Religious Affairs Bureau made a speech attacking Western claims of religious persecution, according to Xinhua. He said that Westerners have in recent years turned a blind eye to the fact that many people in China are carrying out normal religious activities and that China respects and protects the right to freedom of religious belief. He said that a number of cults formed in China in the last few years have greatly harmed Chinese society; action has been taken against these to ensure normal religious activities continue, but it is groundless to call this "persecution" (SWB 11th June).

9th June

An official of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement, China's official Protestant Church organisation, said that the latter was "absolutely a voluntary movement of Chinese Christians", that some Westerners were trying to use religion as a political tool against China, and that Chinese Christian organisations and believers were firmly against such actions, according to Xinhua (SWB 11th June).

14th June

A forum has been held in Gansu Province on "the wanton building of temples", according to the Gansu Daily. The temples were said to have become places for illegal religious

activities beyond the scope of management by government religious work departments. The report mentioned that struggle against the wanton building of temples has been waged throughout the country since the beginning of the year (SWB 26th June).

23rd June

Dr Han Wenzao, president of the Christian Council of China, said that the detention of Xu Yongze, a leader of a Christian sect, was a matter of law, not of religious persecution, according to Xinhua. Dr Han said that Xu had proclaimed that one had to cry loudly to communicate with deities and spread the view that the end of the world was coming, causing people to become distraught and affecting the lives and production of local people. He commented that lawbreaking by a Christian in the USA would be regarded as falling within the legal system, but in China it is taken by some people as persecution, and asked why double standards should be used to assess such incidents (SWB 27th June).

24th July

Tang Guoqiang, spokesman for the Foreign Ministry, defended China's policy on religious freedom, saying that the Chinese people extensively embrace and support the Chinese government's policy on religion, according to Zhongguo Xinwen She (SWB 26th July).

5th August

The US State Department's report on religion was "laced with presumptuous comments on religious situations in dozens of countries and regions", according to a Xinhua report based on a People's Daily article of 2nd August. The article said China is home to over 85,000 venues for different religious sects, with more than 3,000 religious organisations, 74 related education institutions and more than 100 million religious followers. It also said that some 17,000 "members of religious circles" serve as deputies to people's congresses or as members of the Political Consultative Conferences (SWB 7th August).

6th August

Chinese religious leaders refuted US State Department claims that China places restrictions on religious practices, and condemned the Dalai Lama. Those quoted include Shi

Zesheng, vice-chairman of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement Committee of Protestant Churches in China, Dr Han Wenzao, president of the China Christian Council, Bishop Ding Guangxun, president of the China Christian Council, and Jing Hui, vice-president of the Buddhist Association of China (SWB 8th August).

13th August

Pingcui Ciren [Phuntsog Tsering], a Tibetologist and official in the TAR, condemned the "falseness" of the US State Department Report on freedom of religion in China, according to Zhongguo Xinwen She. Pingcui Ciren is reported as saying that the State policy has consistently attached great importance to doing a good job in religious work. The state has invested large amounts of money in renovating the Potala Palace, the Jokhang, the Luobulinka [Norbulinka], Gandan monastery [Ganden], Zhebug monastery [Drepung] and other places for religious activities, and that there are now more than 46,000 monks and nuns in the TAR (SWB 15th August).

20th August

Tenzin, Chairman of the Tibetan Association for Cultural Exchange with Foreign Countries and Deputy Party Secretary of the TAR, said that freedom of religious belief is the consistent policy of the Chinese government and that normal religious activities are protected by law, according to Xinhua (SWB 22nd August).

26th August

China's Foreign Minister Qian Qichen urged the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association to resist "hostile forces" attempting to interfere in internal religious affairs, at a ceremony marking the 40th anniversary of its founding (SWB 29th August).

1st September

Ragdi, deputy secretary of the TAR Party Committee, in an interview with an Austrian reporter, said: "There have been cases of formerly non-religious Party members becoming religious believers; their numbers are, after all, quite limited. We won't stop them from resigning from the Party, nor will we try to persuade them to give up their religious belief. It is a matter of their personal freedom," according to Tibet TV (SWB 5th September).

16th September

Ragdi said that the child designated by the Dalai Lama as the 11th Panchen Lama leads a very good life, goes to school as every other child does and is perfectly free without restraint, according to the semi-official news agency Zhongguo Tongxun She. He denied that he was a "religious prisoner" (SWB 19th September).

4th October

The renovation of Ganden Monastery was completed, including supplying drinking water and installing nearly 500 solar energy lights to replace the old butter lamps, according to Xinhua (SWB 6th October).

6th October

Guo Jinlong, Tibet deputy Party secretary, said that while some progress has been made in economic development and reform in Tibet, there were still some people who regarded religion as the most sacred thing, and were not willing to free themselves from the influence and shackles of religion. He said that in studying the spirit of the 15th National Party Congress it was necessary to foster the Marxist conception of nationality and religion (SWB 8th October).

13th October

Ye Xiaowen, head of the State

Council's Bureau of Religious Affairs, said that the various religions are alive and well and are going through a "golden period", although there had been a crackdown on some religious organisations engaging in illegal activities, according to Xinhua (SWB 15th October).

14th October

Chen Kuiyuan urged Sangye [Samye] monastery leadership to oppose separatism and do better in improving monastery management, so as to set an example. He praised the monastery's success in increasing its income by building shops and car parks and setting up transport teams, according to regional Chinese TV (SWB 20th October).

16th October

The Information Office of the State Council Issued a White Paper on Freedom of Religious Belief in China, according to Xinhua. It consisted of five parts: present conditions of religion, legal protection of freedom of religious belief, judicial and administrative guarantees and supervision of freedom of religious belief, support for independence and initiative in management of religious affairs, and protection of the right to freedom of religious belief for ethnic minorities (SWB 17th October).

29th October

Gabsang Gya [Kelsang Gyal?], an assistant research fellow at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), said that freedom of religious belief is guaranteed in the TAR and that Tibetan Buddhism is in the prime of its life, according to Xinhua. He said that 600 Buddhists in Tibet hold posts in the Regional People's Congress or regional Political Consultative Conferences (the CPPCC), and that the central and local governments have spent more than 300m yuan (US \$37.5m) in the past decade on renovating Tibetan monasteries (SWB 31st October).

19th November

Gyalcan [Gyaltsen] Norbu, chairman of the TAR Government, said in a discussion meeting that religious idealism, superstition and outdated customs and habits were obstructing people from accepting new ideas, concepts and cultures, according to the Tibet Daily (SWB 11th December).

30th December

The confirmation ceremony of the reincarnated child of the eighth Xabchung Garbo (Shabdrung Karpo) "Living Buddha" (Reincarnated Lama or tulku) was held at Kumbum monastery, Qinghai, according to Xinhua (SWB 20th January 1998).

Patriotic Education

23rd May

Ragdi, chairman of the TAR People's Congress Standing Committee, in his address to the closing ceremony of the fifth session of the Sixth Regional People's Congress (published in the Tibet Daily), called for intensified "patriotic education" in temples and vigilance against sabotage and infiltration. He said it was necessary to continually expose and criticise the Dalai Lama's crimes; comprehensively and deeply to conduct patriotic education in temples throughout the region, to strengthen leadership over it and pay full attention to it; to strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilisation as well as to persist in stressing two civilisations [material and spiritual], listen to the voice of the people, perform administrative work diligently and be honest in performing official duties (SWB 21st June).

29th May

Gyalcan [Gyaltsen] Norbu, chairman of the TAR People's Government, said in the Tibet government work report delivered on 15th May that during 1996 the TAR government had helped people gain "a Marxist outlook on religion". Work groups sent into monasteries to carry out patriotic education had, he said, "united most monks" while dealing blows to "a small number of ethnic separatists". Gyalcan Norbu said that patriotic education should be further strengthened, and that the management of monasteries should be improved to "destroy the Dalai clique's foundation for carrying out separatist activities in Tibet" (SWB 5th July).

17th September

Ragdi answered the "accusation" in the foreign media that patriotic education undermines freedom of religious belief by asking which country

in the world would permit the existence of any mass organisations or individuals which refuse the restraint of laws. Speaking at a meeting between local leaders and the press during the 15th Party Congress, Ragdi described the main contents of patriotic education (democracy and the legal system, policies on nationalities and religion, maintaining the unification of the motherland and opposing secessionism) and its purpose: to enhance Buddhist monks' and nuns' consciousness of patriotism, love for religion, observation of discipline and laws, and to establish a "normal religious order compatible with a socialist society on the basis of education". Ragdi said that remarks by US Congressman Wolf that there is no freedom of religion in Tibet were formulated to make Tibet look ugly and confuse people (SWB 20th September).

11th November

An official from the TAR government information department said that monks and nuns had complained that in some places "management was in chaos, monks did not behave themselves, lamaseries did not work as they should have, discipline was relaxed and religious practice was rotten". In a press briefing about the ongoing patriotic education campaign in the monasteries, officials said that religious activities and religious order in monasteries were gradually returning to normal (SWB 3rd December).

11th November

An official from the Religious Affairs Commission reviewed the strategy and results of the patriotic education work teams in monasteries since last year, in a report published in the Tibet Daily. The report named Kexi [Klmsli] township and Suruolin lamastery [Sungrabling monastery in Chideshol, Lhokha] as places where the anti-splitist struggle had been particularly acute and complicated. The report said that efforts on religious policy had won "popular support". Some democratic management committees had not played their role well; they had not been fair in handling their work and had attacked and persecuted lamas (i.e. monks) who loved their country and religion. Work teams had audited monastery accounts, some of which were described as "inadequate", and made inventories of religious relics, because of the problem of theft. "Illegal and obscene activities by monks and nuns were commonplace", said the paper. Education in lamaseries and temples was being carried out simultaneously with patriotic education in nearby townships and villages. Although patriotic education in "the first batch of lamaseries and temples this year has got off to a good start", the report said that "its development has not been balanced, the task remains arduous and the struggle is considerably acute and complicated" (SWB 20th December).

20th November

Bai Zhao, president of the regional Higher People's Court, and Nimachiren [Nyima Tsering], assistant chairman of the TAR (a new appointment) and chief of the TAR mission in Beijing, said in a regional government leaders' discussion

meeting that while conducting patriotic education in temples and monasteries "it is also necessary to conduct extensive education on patriotism in society", according to the Tibet Daily (SWB 11th December).

20th November

"We will continue to deepen patriotic education in all fields in order to totally smash the separatist scheme to divide the motherland", said Xiangba Gadeng [Jampa Kelden], chairman of the regional nationalities and religious affairs commission, according to the Tibet Daily. He said that it was imperative to carry out patriotic education, and that at the same time they should organically combine patriotism with the building of spiritual civilisation. On the next stage of the plan, Xiangba Gadeng said that the task was extremely difficult and the struggle was acute and complex; only the first step had been taken in conducting patriotic education (SWB 13th December).

21st November

A meeting was held in the Chengguan [inner city] area of Lhasa to commend individuals who had distinguished themselves in the first stage of the patriotic education campaign (described as 28th April to 19th September) and to sum up its results. The meeting said that successful completion of the first stage had provided "invaluable experiences" for the second stage education in monasteries, according to the Tibet Daily (SWB 16th December).

28th November

The Tibet Daily published a long and detailed article about policy and procedures involved in patriotic education in Lhunze [Lhuntse] county (in Lhokha). Entitled "Investigative report on comprehensive patriotic education in Lhunze County by the joint investigation group of the regional Party committee's propaganda department, the office of the Regional Leading Group on Education in Temples, the Tibet Daily [Xizang Ribao], and the Shannan [Lhokha] Prefectural Party Committee's Propaganda Department", the article described Lhunze as the "Dalai's manor" and said that the Dalai Lama had "imposed a very powerful spiritual bondage" there. As a result,

"strengthening patriotic education throughout the country has become an absolute must". Since the campaign began, the number of "in-temple" monks and nuns in the county had fallen from 242 to 219, and no child "from any family throughout the county" had enrolled for religious training.

The article set out in detail the stages in patriotic education, which were as follows:

1. Establish a mechanism and clearly define the responsibilities of each of the leading group for patriotic education and the religious affairs management group.
2. Provide sufficient staff and conduct training at different levels.
3. Take a clear cut stand and pay attention to policy, such as removing child monks.
4. Combine education for monks and nuns with education for laymen.
5. Contrast new with old, demonstrate typical examples of old peasants, herders and monks and nuns subjected to the Dalai's rule and suppression in old Tibet.
6. Conduct activities such as literary and art performances to enhance the educational effect.
7. Make verbal and written denunciations.
8. Provide guidance for different categories, advance in depth step by step.

According to the article, the results have led to the removal of "the Dalai's cloak layer by layer", and to the fact that county and township governments have significantly tightened management over temples and religious activities. There has been a powerful impact on "religious idealism's mental control and spiritual shackle on the people", significant improvement in public order and reinforced building of grassroots organisations, and cultivation of cadres who are firm in political stand, have a "certain level of policy awareness", and who are good at doing mass work (SWB 29th December).

4. Arrests

Summary

The most important political trial during 1997 took place in April, when Chadel Rinpoche, former abbot of Tashilhunpo monastery, was sentenced to six years in prison and convicted of the crime of "splitting the country" for his handling of the search for the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama. He is believed to be the most senior lama and the highest level official in Tibet to have been convicted of a political offence for at least fifteen years. He had disappeared in May 1995. Champa Chung, a monk who assisted him, and Samdrub, a businessman working in the trading corporation associated with Tashilhunpo monastery, were sentenced at the same time to four years and two years respectively.

In August news emerged that Shol Dawa, a Tibetan tailor, had been sentenced on 8 August 1996 to nine years in

prison, and Topgyal, a Lhasa businessman, had been given a sentence of six years. They had drawn up a list of political prisoners four years previously, which they intended to send abroad. Topgyal was also found to have written three "reactionary" letters. Unofficial reports say that the men, detained in 1995, had been caught after trying to raise a Tibetan flag in the new Potala Square in Lhasa shortly after the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the TAR.

In November, news emerged that a 28 year old Tibetan, Lukhar Sham, had been given a 17 year sentence (in July 1994) for planning to send abroad books about history and economics which are on public sale in China, and for starting a pro-independence organisation in Eastern Tibet. He and two friends were sentenced in all to a total of 45 years in prison. The sen-

tences are among the longest handed out to Tibetans for non-violent political offences in the last twenty years.

News also emerged that in June 1996 three monks were arrested for putting up posters calling for Tibetan independence. They were monks at Zhabten monastery in Amdo county, which is headed by Drubkhang Rinpoche, who is seen as a collaborator with the Chinese authorities. Two other Tibetans were arrested in that month and accused of burning down Drubkhang's house.

Control of information which has been increasing since 1993 appears to have strengthened further during 1997. It became progressively harder to obtain news from Tibet, and therefore it is likely that arrests and protests have been significantly under-reported.

Senior Lama Sentenced for Handling of Panchen Lama Search

TIN News Update/9 May, 1997

A Tibetan court has sentenced Chadel Rinpoche, former abbot of Tashilhunpo monastery, to six years in prison and convicted him of committing "the crime of splitting the country" for his handling two years ago of the search for the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama.

Chadel Rinpoche is believed to be the most senior lama and the highest-level official in Tibet to have been convicted of a political offence for at least 15 years.

The 58 year old abbot and two other Tibetans, a monk and a businessman, were accused of "colluding with separatist forces abroad" and "seriously jeopardising the national unification and unity of ethnic groups", according to a report issued by Xinhua on 7th May.

Champa Chung, the monk in his fifties who assisted Chadel Rinpoche, received a four year sentence and Samdrub, a businessman in his 30s who worked in the trading corporation associated with the monastery, was sentenced to two years in prison.

The announcement was the first admission by the Chinese since the abbot disappeared two years ago that he was in deten-

tion. For the first five months after his disappearance in May 1995 the Chinese government said that he had been taken ill and was recovering in an unnamed hospital.

In November that year the authorities denounced him and his associates as "the scum of Buddhism", but did not say that he and the two other men had been detained.

In the official denunciations, published in the Chinese press, the abbot, who was head of the official search team for the Panchen Lama's reincarnation, was accused of "interference and sabotage" and "violating religious rituals" because he had delayed or varied the procedures used in the search.

His main offences included carrying out a visit to a sacred lake without consulting other officials and falsifying the results of a "rice-ball divination", according to the 1995 denunciations published by Xinhua.

The abbot was also accused of having sent a letter to the exiled Dalai Lama in December 1994 which named 25 Tibetan boys identified by the official search team as candidates for the reincarnation of the

former Panchen Lama. The abbot was extensively criticised for following requests from the Dalai Lama concerning the search procedure, but the denunciations did not refer to any "splitist" or pro-independence activities by the abbot.

Chadel Rinpoche is reported by unofficial sources to have been held for the last year in a special prison for high-level officials in Heishui in Sichuan, 200 km north-west of Chengdu, but his present whereabouts are unknown.

Trial In Shigatse

The sentencing of the three men took place at the Intermediate Court in Shigatse on 21st April, according to Xinhua, which said the main proceedings were closed to the public because state secrets were involved in the case. Chadel Rinpoche and Champa Chung defended themselves and the three prisoners decided not to appeal against their sentences, which are already below the minimum specified for the charges.

Chadel Rinpoche received two years for the state secrets charge - probably a reference to the names of the 25 boys he is alleged to have sent to India - and five

years for plotting to split the country, with the total commuted to six years. All three men were found guilty of "seriously jeopardising the national unification and unity of ethnic groups, damaging the stability and development of Tibet and committing the crime of splitting the country". The Xinhua report on the trial did not say what political activities had been carried out by the three men.

A "Resplendent Model"

Chadrel Rinpoche's aim during the Panchen Lama search appears to have been to get both the state and the religious authorities to agree on the same child as the reincarnation in order to avoid future disputes. His decision to co-operate with the Dalai Lama was originally endorsed by the Chinese authorities, who in July 1993 allowed him publicly to hand over a letter to the Dalai Lama asking for assistance in the search for the reincarnation.

The Chinese authorities later changed their policy on religious contact with the Dalai Lama and in July 1994 ruled that "we must reveal the true political face of the Dalai hidden behind the religious mask". In March 1995 they broadcast a TV report entitled "Is Dalai still the spiritual leader of a religion?" and since December 1995 press articles have regularly referred to the Dalai Lama as "no longer a religious leader", in effect closing the option of allowing contact with the Dalai Lama on religious matters.

At the time of his detention Chadrel Rinpoche was a member of the national-level Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and a vice-chairman of its TAR Committee. He was

expelled from the regional organisation on 22nd May 1996 for "losing the political standpoint of being a patriotic personality".



Above, Chadrel Rinpoche

In October 1994 he had received a major award from the regional government for turning his monastery into a "Resplendent Model of Safe-guarding the Unification of the Motherland by Displaying the Spirit of Patriotism".

"He stressed not supporting the splittists in any way whatsoever, and stressed not speaking any word against the unity of

the country and the solidarity of the nationalities", said the official commendation of the abbot, the first recipient of such an award. "The splittists hate the Tashilhunpo monastery for holding up the banner of patriotism, and hate their patriotic attitude", continued the commendation. He was stripped of his position as acting abbot and head of the Tashilhunpo management committee in July 1995.

Chamba Chung was the assistant to the abbot and deputy director of the Panchen Lama's residence in Shigatse, near Tashilhunpo monastery. Samdrup, who comes from Shigatse, was general manager of the Dram (known in Chinese as Zhangmu) branch office of the Gang-gyen Corporation, a major trading company affiliated to the monastery.

By January 1996 at least 56 Tibetans had been detained in connection with the dispute over the Panchen Lama's reincarnation, according to unofficial reports. 19 of these cases were monks at Tashilhunpo detained after a protest there in July 1995 who were released without charge after some 3 months in prison. Four other Tashilhunpo monks were given sentences of six months or one year and have now been released. One monk, Lobsang Tendro, is still serving a two and a half year sentence, and three others - Gyatrul Rinpoche, Phuntsog from Legling college and Champa from Trehor college - are rumoured to be still in detention awaiting sentence.

[Note: see "Hidden Enemy Targetted" (TIN News Update/16 November, 1997) in Culture section for details of the November 1997 condemnation of Chadrel Rinpoche by the Party Secretary]

Tibetan Sentenced for 9 Years for Prisoner List

TIN News Update/23 August, 1997

A Tibetan tailor has been sentenced to nine years in prison for drawing up a list of political prisoners four years ago.

Two men, Shol Dawa and Topgyal, received sentences of nine years and six years respectively after a trial in which it was found that they "had gathered together such items as a list of names of current and released political prisoners from our region", according to the court's written decision.

Topgyal, a 58 year old Lhasa businessman originally from Tsang-do township in Lhundrub county, was also found to have written three "reactionary letters"

which he had passed on to Shol Dawa, a 60 year old tailor.

The letters "together with the list of prisoners' names, were stamped with an ox-head stamp of their own manufacture, and were then to be sent abroad as a report to the Dalai clique", said the court statement, a copy of which has been seen by TIN.

The trial was held in the Lhasa Intermediate People's Court on 8th August 1996, but no public announcement of the decision has been seen. The decision only became known when the document was obtained from Tibetan refugees this month.

Because the two men had intended to send the list of names abroad they were convicted of espionage, a charge which is now used widely in China to replace the earlier charge of counter-revolution, due to be phased out under new legislation coming into effect on 1st October this year.

"This court holds that the defendants Xuedawa [Shol Dawa] and Duojujie [Topgyal], with the objective of overturning the socialist system and the peoples' democratic dictatorship, actively accepted a mission specially appointed by foreign enemies, actively gathering various kinds of intelligence about this country

within our borders and engaging in criminal activities that endangered state security," ruled three judges in their concluding decision, which was issued as "Lhasa Criminal Court Trial Document No 48 (1996)".

The only other action or incident referred to in the statement concerned a letter from a member of the India-based Tibet Women's Association giving details of three new members of the organisation. Shol Dawa had "passed the letter on" to another Tibetan for delivery to India at an unspecified date during 1994, according to the judges' statement.

The judges said that the two defendants had obtained the list of prisoners' names by asking two former prisoners, Dondrup Dorje and Ratoe Dawa, to write them down from memory. Dondrup Dorje, formerly a driver at the Lhasa Shoe and Hat Factory, and Ratoe Dawa, a monk at Ratoe monastery, were both released in 1993 after serving four years in prison for political offences, but escaped to India two years later. Some reports say that Dondrup Dorje returned to Tibet within weeks and was briefly detained again in August 1995.

Shol Dawa and Topgyal were detained on 14th August and 12th November 1995, over two years after the incidents for which they were tried and convicted. Their crime of collecting prisoners' names is believed to have been uncovered only when police interrogated a group of at least 11 former activists including Shol Dawa and Dondrup Dorje. The group had been detained in August 1995 to prevent disruption of the celebrations held on 1st September that year to mark the 30th

anniversary of the founding of the Tibet Autonomous Region, according to unofficial sources.

Shol Dawa, age 60, a tailor named after the Shol area of Lhasa where he comes from, is a well-known figure among Lhasa activists. He was one of the first Tibetans to be arrested after the introduction of the liberalisation policy in 1980 and has already spent 6 years in prison for two previous convictions, both for "spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda".

On 29 September 1981 he was detained and later sentenced to two years imprisonment for making 260 cyclostyled copies of a pamphlet about Tibetan history called "Twenty Years of Tragic Experience", written at his request by the famous dissident scholar Geshe Lobsang Wangchug, who died in prison in 1987. "Dawa had also printed a picture of Tibet's national flag on top of the circular," said the 1982 court document which sentenced the tailor.

On 8 November 1985 he was detained and sentenced to four years for writing "with his own hand some ten copies of a circular denouncing 'the deteriorating living conditions of six million Tibetans and the anti-secular foreign invasion of Tibet'," according to the 1995 court judgement, a copy of which was obtained by the exile Tibetan government.

"The Chinese set up kangaroo trials and randomly arrest and imprison Tibetans, charging them of crimes they are not guilty of, especially when the people exhibit open dislike for the Chinese regime," said Shol Dawa's daughter Nyidron in a statement asking for interna-

tional help to release her father, issued from India in October 1995.

"As my father is at the moment experiencing such intolerable harsh treatment, we, the children of Dawa, are filled with sorrow but are unable to do anything to alleviate our father's sufferings," she said. Shol Dawa's wife died while he was in prison in 1987, and Nyidron and her two brothers now live in exile.

The situation in Lhasa is now stable, according to reports by the authorities there. "The situation has been calm for the past several years," Lhasa's Mayor, Lobsang Gyaltsen, told a group of Japanese journalists on 8th August. Three western journalists were allowed to visit Tibet in June and ten more foreign reporters are expected to be escorted to Lhasa later this month to coincide with the opening of the Lhasa Trade Fair on 31st August.

"Lhasa faces its best opportunity for development in its history," the Mayor wrote in a China Daily article about the Trade Fair on 19th August. 42 Lhasa-based companies are seeking to raise \$67 million of foreign investment to develop mining, fertiliser production, logging, food processing, shops and tourism. Foreign investment in the whole Tibet Autonomous Region reached \$9.16 million last year.

A delegation from the Swiss Government accompanied by three Swiss journalists arrives in Lhasa today to look at education and health care, and a party of German parliamentarians is due next week to research the human rights situation.

17 Year Sentence for Tibetan "Spy"

TIN News Update/7 November, 1997

A 28 year old Tibetan has been given a 17 year prison sentence for collecting information and for starting a secret pro-independence group, according to official court documents about his case. The Tibetan was accused of planning to send abroad books about history and economics which are on public sale in China.

Lukhar Sham and two other Tibetans were sentenced to a total of 45 years in prison for planning to send the statistics books and other documents to Tibetans in exile, and for starting a pro-independence organisation in Eastern Tibet.

The three sentences are among the longest handed out to Tibetans for a non-violent political offence in the last twenty years. Lukhar Sham's sentence is exceeded only by three monks in Lhasa who published a pamphlet on democracy in 1989, and by the exile musicologist Ngawang Choephel who got 18 years after he was caught travelling with a video camera in 1995.

The sentencing of Lukhar Sham, then 25 years old, and his friends Tsegongthar and Namlo Yag took place in July 1994, but it has taken until this month for details of the trial to reach the outside world.

Refugees from the area had previously reported the arrests but had put the sentences much lower than those given in the official documents now obtained by TIN.

The case took place in Qinghai, an area which is referred to by Tibetans as Domed or Amdo, the former north-eastern province of Tibet, but which the Chinese authorities do not recognise as part of the Tibet region. The three men were from Tsotho prefecture (Hainan in Chinese) in Southern Qinghai, but were imprisoned and tried in Delingha, a military base in neighbouring Haixi prefecture where 83% of the population is Chinese.

Reports from the area are hard to obtain, and the delay in hearing details of the case suggests there may be more political dissent there than previously recognised.

Lukhar Sham, named in the Chinese documents as Li Kexian from Xinghai county in Hainan prefecture, received eight years for "espionage" and ten years for "the crime of organising and leading a counter-revolutionary group". His sentence was commuted to a total of 17 years, according to "Criminal Judgement Document No. 19 (1994)" issued by the Haixi Prefecture Intermediate People's Court, a copy of which has been obtained by TIN.

The Haixi Prosecution Service told the court that Lukhar Sham and the two other men had "delivered four items of unlawful correspondence" which Lukhar had brought from India, and then "purchased and collected over 30 volumes of books and materials, such as surveys of eight autonomous prefectures or counties of our province" as well as eight items of "classified or top secret documents and data".

The prosecution presented as evidence to the court "one volume of statistical information about the national economy [and] one handbook of statistics about the education system", according to the documents.

County surveys and statistical compilations are sold openly in bookshops throughout China and Tibet and are frequently stocked in specialist libraries in the West, although they are not meant to be sold to foreigners.

Lukhar Sham, whose name is sometimes written as Lukhar Gyab or Lungkar Cham, had escaped from Tibet in 1991 to India, where he spent 18 months studying at a school run by the exile Tibetan Government. He returned illicitly to Tibet in November 1992, allegedly carrying 14 letters for Tibetans in Amdo, which he and his co-defendants delivered four of.

The authorities said at the trial that he had been sent to Qinghai by an "external illegal organisation" - a reference to the exile government - to "deliver correspondence and gather intelligence" and that "on numerous occasions he disseminated reactionary opinions concerning such subjects as 'Tibetan Independence'".

The case was uncovered in March 1993 when Lukhar Sham tried to make a second trip to India. He was caught by border police in Tingri, about 2,000 km by road from his home in Amdo and only 50 km from the border with Nepal. Police discovered on him some of the confidential

documents together with two letters addressed to the exile government of the Dalai Lama, and returned him to Qinghai for questioning by State Security police there, according to the court documents.

The two letters he was carrying had been written by Tsegongthar, a 33 year old high-ranking policeman in Kangsa county (Gangca in Chinese), in Haibei Prefecture, and Namlo Yag, an education official in Tsigorhang county, known in Chinese as Xinghai, in Hainan prefecture; the two men were detained in May 1993, two months after the letters had been intercepted.

Tsegongthar, named in the Chinese document as Cai Gongjia from Guide county in Hainan, was sentenced to 16 years, and 28-year old Namlo Yag, named in Chinese as An Leye from Xinghai county, was sentenced to 12 years for writing the letters, helping collect the confidential documents, and joining Lukhar Sham's secret group. Some sources say Namlo Yag is also known as Riglo Yag.

A fourth Tibetan, Sherab Dondrub, named as Xiawu Dongzhi in Chinese, was also accused of joining the pro-independence group, but the documents do not give his sentence, probably because he was under 18 years of age at the time and so would have been sentenced separately.

The four Tibetans had started a "counter-revolutionary organisation" called the "Amdo Youth Self-Sacrifice Organisation" and had arranged to print "reactionary leaflets". As a result the group had "created nationality disputes, incited nationality splittism, and endangered national security", the court ruled. The three men told the court that they had not campaigned for support for Tibetan independence or carried out any spying, and that many of the books were on sale publicly, but the arguments were rejected as "false and in contradiction with the law".

Other Arrests, Linked to Jiang Zemin Visit

The arrest of Lukhar Sham is believed to have been connected to the detention of an estimated 28 other Tibetans in Tsohlo (Hainan) prefecture or nearby areas of Qinghai in June or July 1993, just before a visit by the Chinese President Jiang Zemin to the province.

The detainees are believed to have been suspected of spreading pro-independence leaflets linked to Jiang's visit from 16th to 21st July or to celebrations on 3rd August that year of the 40th anniversary of the naming of Hainan as a Tibetan

Autonomous Prefecture.

Among the detainees was Menlha Kyab (also known as Menlha Cha), a famous Tibetan broadcaster, comedian and writer from Tsohlo, who was released after six months but is reported to have suffered a serious mental breakdown as a result of his imprisonment. Another prominent Tibetan arrested was Samdrub Tsering, a postgraduate research student at the Nationalities Institute in Xining who had opened a Tibetan language nursery school near Xining one month before he was detained in June that year. He is serving a five year sentence for "counter-revolutionary incitement", a term often used to describe distribution of pro-independence leaflets.

Another Tibetan intellectual connected to the group from Hainan prefecture, the writer and teacher Dukar Bum, left the area at the time of the 1993 arrests in order to travel secretly to India, but was arrested when he returned a year later in September 1994. He is serving seven years in prison, reportedly because of his connections with the underground group and because of money he is alleged to have taken to India.

The high social positions of many of the detainees, such as the police chief Tsegongthar and the educationalist Namlo Yag, suggest that dissent in the Amdo area is relatively strong amongst Tibetan intellectuals and officials.

During his 1993 inspection tour of the Tibetan areas of Qinghai, Jiang went "deep into villages and pastoral areas", where he praised "officials who had left their homes in coastal and other regions to contribute to Qinghai's economic and social development" and called for the exploitation of natural resources in the province to be speeded up, according to a Xinhua report on 21st July 1993.

Recent political arrests from the Amdo area include five monks from Lödrang monastery in southern Gansu province, detained in May 1995 after pro-independence posters were put up in the area, and 25 monks at Kumbum monastery near Xining in Qinghai province, detained in May 1996 in connection with political posters as well as with an unofficial literary magazine. The sentences passed on these monks are unknown, but in June 1995 a Tibetan student at the Lanzhou Nationalities Institute named Erolkar Gyab was detained and given a seven year sentence for "political reasons", according to unofficial reports.

Official Court Judgement against Lukhar Sham, Tsegongthar and Namlo Yag

Translation of the document, written in Chinese (TIN ref: 18(VV))

Intermediate Peoples' Court of Haixi [Tsonub, "west of the lake [Qinghai]] Mongolian and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Written Criminal Judgement [xing shi pan jue shu]
Haixi Intermediate Peoples' Court Criminal Judgement Document No. 19 (1994) [?]
Organ of Public Prosecution of the Haixi Mongolian and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture People's Procuratorate

Defendant Li Kexian [Lukhar Sham], also known as Libei, male, born 3 [?] February 1969, Tibetan, of Xinghai County, Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. Fled abroad to India in October 1991, a student of Bir School, India. Entered the country illegally in November 1992; apprehended by the Dingri County Frontier Inspection Station Tibet whilst attempting to leave the country illegally in March 1993. On 7th April 1993 detained for investigation [shou rong shen cha] by the State Security Bureau [guojia anquanju] of the Qinghai Public Security Department, in connection with a charge of espionage. Arrested on the 13th July [cf. Prosecution Document (TIN Ref 17(VV)), which has 10th July] of the same year. Currently detained [ya] at Delingha City PSB detention centre [kanshouso].

Defendant Cai Gongjia [Tsegongthar], also known as Gangxiang Acai, male, born 12th August 1963, Tibetan, of Guide County, [no prefecture is mentioned], Qinghai Province, previously a cadre in the PSB of Tianjun County [no prefecture is mentioned], Qinghai Province, living in the residence of the government offices of Guide County [cf. Prosecution Document, which has Gangcha County; no prefecture is mentioned], Qinghai Province. On 10th May 1993 [cf. Prosecution Document which has 7th May] detained for investigation by the State Security Bureau of the Qinghai Public Security Department in connection with a charge of espionage. Arrested on the 3rd September [cf. Prosecution Document which has 2nd September] of the same year. Currently detained at Delingha City PSB detention centre.

Defendant An Leye [Namlo Yag; 3rd character here reads 'ye' but is not the same one as in Prosecution Document, probably a typing error], also known as Dongsai, male, born 10th January 1970, Tibetan, of Xinghai County, Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province, formerly a cadre at the education bureau [ju] of Xinghai County, living at the dormitory of Xinghai County education bureau. On 9th May 1993 detained for investigation by the State Security

Bureau of the Qinghai Public Security Department in connection with a charge of espionage. Arrested on the 3rd September [cf. Prosecution Document which has 2nd September] of the same year. Currently detained at Delingha City PSB detention centre.



Above, the TAR Higher People's Court with Tsering Drolkar, the head, pictured in the middle

On 16th June 1994, Haixi Mongolian and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture People's Procuratorate initiated a public prosecution with this court against the defendants Li Kexian, Cai Gongjia and An Leye, on charges of espionage and of organising and leading a counter-revolutionary group. After accepting the case, this court constituted a collegiate panel [zu cheng he yi ting] in accordance with the law, beginning a court session in camera to hear this case. Procurator Duan Lili of the Haixi Autonomous Prefecture People's Procuratorate appeared in court to support the public prosecution, the defendants Li Kexian, Cai Gongjia and An Leye and their translator [?characters indistinct] La Xiutai and expert witness Li Jun... [3rd character of name illegible] came to court to participate in proceedings. This court has now concluded hearing this case [yi shen li zhong jie].

Haixi Mongolian and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture People's Procuratorate charges: the defendant Li Kexian, slipped into our province having

been sent by an external illegal organisation, delivering correspondence, enlisting the services of forces for Tibetan independence, gathering a large quantity of our confidential and top secret internal documents and materials, and plotting the organisation and building of a counter-revolutionary organisation for "Tibetan independence" in our province. His actions are in breach of section [tiao] 97 of "The Criminal Law of the PRC" and constitute a crime of espionage; the defendants Cai Gongjia and An Leye collaborated with the defendant Li Kexian, writing a letter contacting an external illegal organisation, illegally supplying internal intelligence about us, actively organising a counter-revolutionary group, and engaging in "Tibetan independence" activities. Their actions are in breach of the stipulations of sections 97 and 98 of "The Criminal Law of the PRC", constituting crimes of espionage and organising and leading a counter-revolutionary group. The People's Procuratorate seeks punishment in accordance with the law.

The defendant Li Kexian denies the facts of the crime charged in the prosecution: (1) denies committing a crime of espionage; (2) was not sent by an overseas illegal organisation; (3) has never disseminated opinions of "Tibetan independence".

The defendant Cai Gongjia does not object to the facts charged in the prosecution of writing a letter to the "Security Department of the Tibetan Government" and writing the "Oath of Allegiance" on behalf of the "Duomai Youth Dare-to-Die Brigade", but states in defence [bian cheng]: (1) denies committing a crime of espionage; (2) has never carried out espionage activities; (3) does not have a "Tibetan independence" ideology; (4) has never organised or established any organisation, his own actions not constituting the crime of organising and leading a counter-revolutionary group.

The defendant An Leye denies the facts of the crime charged in the prosecution: (1) his own actions not constituting the crime of espionage, since the material he provided was not top secret, and was on sale

publicly; (2) the organisations and association that were established were all void, and were for cheating the "Tibetan Government", their object being a wish to attract foreign funds, he has not organised or led a counter-revolutionary group; (3) [he] does not have a "Tibetan independence" ideology and has never advocated "Tibetan independence" in such places as Tianjun and Delingha.

Through the hearing it has been ascertained: 1. In early November 1992, the defendant Li Kexian, having been sent by an external espionage organisation, slipped into our province to deliver correspondence and gather intelligence. Prior to Spring Festival of 1993, the defendant Li Kexian, through the co-operation of the defendants Cai Gongjia and An Leye, delivered in succession four items of unlawful correspondence, and also through the defendants Cai Gongjia and An Leye, he gathered eight items being internal classified or top secret maps, documents and data, and prepared to take them out of the country.

2. After the Spring Festival of 1993, whilst the four defendants Li Kexian, Cai Gongjia, An Leye and Xiauw Dongjia (dealt with in a separate case) were staying in Delingha City, Tianjun County, in our province, the defendant Li Kexian on numerous occasions disseminated reactionary opinions, and furthermore incited the defendants Cai Gongjia and An Leye to write a letter contacting an external illegal organisation and to organise the setting up of a reactionary organisation. The defendants Cai Gongjia and An Leye immediately wrote a letter on their own behalf contacting an external illegal organisation, reporting their personal circumstances and plans to establish a counter-revolutionary organisation. At the same time, the two defendants wrote another letter contacting an external illegal organisation signed in the name of the reactionary organisation the "Duomai Youth Dare-to-Die Brigade", seeking to further expand this counter-revolutionary group upon receiving approval. After the letters had been copied out by Xiauw Dongzhi, these [qian feng - "previously mentioned" or "pre-sealed"] items of reactionary correspondence accompanied by the photographs of the two persons were handed over to the defendant Li Kexian in preparation for being taken out of the country. The defendant Li Kexian was apprehended and brought to justice whilst trying to steal across the national border out of Tibet, carrying the above-men-

tioned intelligence and correspondence. After defendant Li Kexian had left, the defendant Cai Gongjia wrote the words to an oath of allegiance for the "Duomai Youth Dare-to-Die Brigade", appointed Xiauw Dongzhi as secretary of the said organisation and further assigned him the task of printing and distributing reactionary leaflets etc., and engaged in counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement activities.

The above related facts of this crime have such materials in evidence as documentary and material proofs and expert analysis of handwriting to confirm them. The confession of each defendant is also on file, all this being sufficient for them to be found guilty.

This court holds: the defendant Li Kexian, with counter-revolution as an objective, being sent by an espionage organisation from outside our borders, slipped into the country to collect and steal a large quantity of our confidential and top-secret intelligence, his actions constituting a crime of espionage; the defendants Cai Gongjia and An Leye, with the clear understanding that the defendant Li Kexian was someone working for an external organisation [jing wai ren yuan], still provided him with our confidential and top-secret intelligence; their counter-revolutionary objective is clear, and their actions also constitute a crime of espionage. The reasoning of the three defendants' claims in their defence, that their actions do not constitute a crime of espionage, is false [jing wai] and in contradiction of the law, and should be rejected. The defendants Cai Gongjia, An Leye, and Li Kexian, in collaboration with one another and with counter-revolution as an objective, wrote a letter to an external espionage organisation, viciously attacked the government of our country, actively worked for an organisation outside our borders, established an illegal organisation, created ethnic disputes, incited ethnic separation [or 'splitting'], and endangered national security, their actions further constituting the crime of organising and leading a counter-revolutionary group. The defendants' statements in their defence do not constitute an exculpation of this guilt and do not tally with the criminal activities carried out by each defendant, and this court does not accept them. In order to preserve the regime of the peoples' democratic dictatorship and the socialist system, and to deal a severe blow to counter-revolutionary activities that endanger national security, and in accordance with the stipulations in sec-

tions 97,98, 51, 22, 23, and 64 of "The Criminal Law of the PRC", judgement is given as follows:

One, defendant Li Kexian is guilty of the crime of espionage, and is sentenced to a fixed term of eight years imprisonment [you qi tu xing]; he is guilty of the crime of organising and leading a counter-revolutionary group, and is sentenced to a fixed term of ten years imprisonment, sentences to be combined [? xiao zui bing fa], it being decided to carry out a fixed term of imprisonment of seventeen years, with deprivation of political rights for five years.

Two, defendant Cai Gongjia is guilty of the crime of espionage, and is sentenced to a fixed term of six years imprisonment; he is guilty of the crime of organising and leading a counter-revolutionary group, and is sentenced to a fixed term of eleven years imprisonment, sentences to be combined, it being decided to carry out a fixed term of imprisonment of sixteen years, with deprivation of political rights for four years.

Three, defendant An Leye is guilty of the crime of espionage, and is sentenced to a fixed term of five years imprisonment; he is guilty of the crime of organising and leading a counter-revolutionary group, and is sentenced to a fixed term of eight years imprisonment, sentences to be combined, it being decided to carry out a fixed term of imprisonment of twelve years, with deprivation of political rights for four years.

If this judgement is not accepted, appeal can be made through this court or directly to the Qinghai Province Higher Peoples' Court within ten days starting from the day following receipt of this judgement; those appealing in writing, should hand in both an original and two duplicates of the circumstances of their appeal.

Chief Judge [shen pan zhang]:
He Yansheng
Acting Judge [?dai li shen pan yuan]:
Yang Cheng [?indistinct] fu
Acting Judge:
Zhu [?indistinct] Zhijie
[Dated: 28th July 1994
Clerk: Chen Jujian [?indistinct]

[The document is stamped at the end with a circular seal of the court and with a rectangular stamp which states that this is a genuine copy of the original court document]

Drubkhang Rinpoche Criticised, House Burnt Down

Extract from "Tibet Leaders to Visit Europe", TIN News Update/23 November, 1997

Tibetans have staged protests against a young lama seen as a collaborator with the Chinese authorities, according to unconfirmed reports from Tibet. The lama is included in a delegation of top Tibetan officials that is planning to visit Europe in December.

Drubkhang Thubten Khedrub is a 42 year old lama who heads the Religious Affairs Committee in Nagchu, a prefecture in northern Tibet, and who has been rapidly promoted since 1995 as a public critic of the Dalai Lama.

In May last year he denounced the Dalai Lama as the "root cause" of chaos in Tibet, according to Xinhua, the official Chinese news agency, on 24th May 1996. "The Tibetan people have been a member of the Chinese nation for more than 700 years," he noted. "I think the unification

of the Chinese nation is the common aspiration of the Chinese people, including the Tibetans, and that it is the best choice of the Tibetan people," he said.

In the same month he called for strong action against members of the "Dalai clique" involved in explosions and "terrorism". "The Public Security and Law practising departments at every level must strike relentless blows at those who sabotage the public order and commit serious crimes," he told the Political Consultative Conference at a meeting in Lhasa. "At the same time they must improve the efficiency of striking hard and gather intelligence about the evil doings of the Dalai clique", he said, according to an internal publication obtained by TIN.

One month later, in June 1996, police

arrested three monks from Zhabten monastery in Amdo county, Nagchu, 350 km north of Lhasa. The monks, Chadrel, age 37, Che-de, age 33, and Lobsang Ngodrub, had put up 28 or 29 posters calling for Tibetan independence. Drubkhang is the head of Zhabten monastery.

Two Tibetans from Nagchu named Nyima and Dawa were also arrested in June last year. They were accused of burning down Drubkhang's house. "It is said that Drubkhang Rinpoche was denouncing His Holiness the Dalai Lama, so the public in the region do not like him, and that is why they burnt down his monastery house," said a Tibetan from the area, interviewed in Nepal in August. The sentences given to the two men are unknown.

Chinese Press on Arrests and Imprisonment

Summaries of selected articles from the Chinese press concerning arrests and imprisonment in Tibet during 1997. The date at the head of each item shows when the article was published or broadcast in China; the date in brackets at the end of each item indicates when the article was published in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts.

Arrests and Imprisonment

The most important political arrest in 1997 was that of Chadrel Rinpoche, head of the Panchen Lama search team and former abbot of Tashilhunpo monastery. The court's decision was publicised by the Chinese press in May, and in July Party officials began to attack the abbot by name in public speeches. He was sentenced to six years imprisonment for "conspiracy to split the nation" and "betraying state secrets", and two of his colleagues also received sentences.

Conditions in Tibetan prisons were described in the press in response to prison visits by various foreign dignitaries. Antje Vollmer, vice president of the German Federal Assembly, was reported by Xinhua on 30th August as saying that the management of Drapchi prison was "scientific and rational" and that she "will try to come again as a guest". Frau Vollmer later issued a disclaimer. Several Xinhua articles described life in prisons in rosy terms, and denounced as a "fabrication" the views expressed by a US Congressman after a four-day undercover visit during August. A visit by a specialist UN human rights team to Drapchi was not publicised.

18th March

Achievements have been made in political work in prisons, according to an article in the Tibet Daily. The regional prison system has adopted effective measures to boost socialist spiritual civilisation in prisons, raising the quality of the police profession's appearance, style of work and discipline, said the article.

18th April

Xinhua reports that since their arrival in Lhasa on the 15th April, Jan Egeland (State Secretary of the Norwegian Foreign Ministry) and his group had toured a prison in Lhasa (Drapchi) as

part of their visit (SWB 21st April).

7th May

The Intermediate People's Court of Shigatse prefecture sentenced Qiazha Qiangbachille [Chadrel Rinpoche, Chamba Trinley], aged 58, former abbot of Tashilhunpo monastery and head of the Panchen Lama search team, to six years imprisonment for "conspiracy to split the nation, colluding with splittist forces outside the region, and disrupting Tibet's stability and development", reported Xinhua. He was also accused of "betraying state secrets". Qiangba Qiong [Chamba Chung] and

Sangzhu [Samdrub] were sentenced to four and two years respectively for the same offences. (Chadrel Rinpoche had been accused in November 1995 of having sent letters to the exiled Dalai Lama, including one in December 1994 which named the 25 Tibetan boys identified by the official search team as candidates for the reincarnation of the former Panchen Lama) (SWB 10th May).

9th May

The Tibetan government-in-exile said that Chadrel Rinpoche, Chamba Chung and Samdrub had not committed any crimes and the charges levelled against

them were "false", according to a report by the Indian news agency PTI. The Tibetan government said that the charge against Chadel Rinpoche of leaking state secrets was baseless because Chadel Rinpoche had only communicated with the Dalai Lama through the Chinese Buddhist Association and the response of the Dalai Lama had been relayed through the Chinese embassy in New Delhi. The fate of Chadel Rinpoche was inextricably linked to the fate of Gendun Choekyi Nyima, the boy recognised as the true incarnation of the 10th Panchen Lama by the Dalai Lama, said Tsering Puncog from the exile government (SWB 10th May).

30th August

The management of Drapchi prison is "scientific and rational" said Antje Vollmer, vice-president of the German Federal Assembly, after she visited the prison, according to Xinhua. The warden told Vollmer that all criminals are treated equally without any discrimination and maltreatment, and that the legal rights of appealing and accusing are fully protected. "Life is good here," one prisoner told Vollmer. [Frau Vollmer later issued a statement saying that this article had misrepresented her views] (SWB 1st September).

30th August

The Director of the Bureau of Prison Administration of the TAR, Tsering Puncog [Tsering Phuntsog] said that Congressman Frank Wolf's report of human rights abuses and conditions in

Tibetan prisons was a "fabrication", reported Xinhua. Prison authorities respect convict's rights, the cells are warm and tidy, and the prison administration prohibits the use of abusive language or the beating up of prisoners, said Tsering Puncog in response to the criticisms of the Congressman, who had made a four day undercover visit to Tibet from 9th August. Tsering Puncog said that some prisoners did carry out manual labour, that the number of prisoners (approximately 1,725) is only 0.075% of the autonomous region's population, and that prisoners charged with endangering state security (approximately 155) account for 9% of that number (SWB 1st September).

10th September

Seven members of the German Bundestag subcommittee on human rights and humanitarian aid held a news conference in Beijing after spending three days in and around Lhasa. The German parliamentarians visited Drapchi prison in Lhasa. Gerd Poppe, a member of the group and a dissident from (former) East Germany described the visit as "totally set up".

11th October

The UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention visited Drapchi prison. The Working group interviewed ten inmates privately, some of whom were picked out at randomly and some chosen from a list of prisoners who were not common law prisoners submitted to the authorities.

21st October

Xinhua described the [monthly] visiting day at "the region's prison" [Drapchi] on 15th October, when three hundred relatives of prisoners, most of them Tibetans, were allowed to speak through grates around a courtyard in the new visitor's centre, reported Xinhua. "Visitors to the prison must abide by strict prison measures, including a time limit of 20 minutes", said the article. "Mildewed or rotten food is not allowed, nor other items which might harm prisoners or affect their sentences," warden Losang Galial [Lobsang Geleg] told the news agency (SWB 22nd October).

24th October

Prison guards were described as the "dear mothers" of some inmates of Drapchi prison in Lhasa during a party to mark Tibetan New Year, reported Xinhua. The prison has 968 inmates, including about 200 women, with 75% of them being ethnic Tibetans (726). Warden Luosang Gelie [Lobsang Geleg] said: "The inmates work no more than six hours per day, five days a week, and each inmate attends at least seven study sessions per week. The prison also often invites renowned personages, experts and scholars to give lectures on laws and Tibet's history, development and changes." He added that the per capita living expenses of the prison had reached 2,500 yuan (\$312.50) annually, the highest among all Chinese prisons (SWB 30th October).

5. Security

Summary

The annual report of the Tibetan courts, published on 3rd June, indicated that the incidence of crime had increased during 1996; criminal trials increased by more than 30% to a total of 2,126. The report said that 98 people had been tried for offences which were effectively political during 1996. The acquittal rate was given as 0.43%, which is extremely low, and sentences of more than five years were handed down in 60% of cases, according to the report. A new, accelerated procedure was introduced in line with the nation-wide "Strike Hard"

campaign which began in May 1996. A Tibet TV report indicated that the campaign would continue, with first priority being given as before to cracking down on "sabotage activities by separatists" and on criminal gangs involved in explosions and assassinations and using guns. There were, however, no reports of any "sabotage activities" by political groups during 1997, and few if any reports of street demonstrations.

There was an increase in security, particularly around Lhasa, during the Hong Kong handover period. Unofficial reports

said that political prisoners were moved from jails in Tibet and Xinjiang to Beijing in an attempt to prevent instability during that period, but this has never been confirmed. Nevertheless, prisoners at Drapchi jail in Lhasa staged a small demonstration in support of the Dalai Lama during a visit by a group of UN officials in October. The armed police were warned that their tasks would become "more arduous" during the coming year, due to a combination of the Hong Kong handover and increased pro-independence activity.

Crime on the Increase in Tibet

TIN News Update/22 June, 1997

Criminal trials in the Tibet Autonomous Region increased by more than 30% last year, according to the annual report of the Tibetan courts, published earlier this month. The report said that 98 people had been tried for effectively political offences in 1996, bringing the official total of political offenders in the TAR courts to at least 593 over the last nine years.

2,126 criminal cases were brought to court in 1996, an increase of 31% over the previous year, said Bai Zhao, head of the Tibet Region's Higher Court, in a speech printed in the official newspaper, the Tibet Daily, on 3rd June.

The figure is more than the total number of criminal cases heard in the region's courts in the five years from 1988 to 1992. It indicates that the "striking increase" in serious crime which was first noted by the Tibet authorities in 1994 is continuing.

In 1995 violent crime increased further: murders rose by 20 percent and crimes involving guns by 54 percent compared with 1994. The 1997 court report does not give figures for increases in each type of crime.

Just under 900 of the cases last year involved "serious threats to public order" and 44 cases involved corruption by officials, leading to the recovery of some 78 million yuan.

593 Tried for Political Offences Since 1988

Of the cases which reached the TAR courts last year 47 involved "endangering state security", the phrase now preferred by the Chinese authorities for offences formerly described as "counter-revolutionary". 98 individuals had been brought to trial in the 47 cases, said the newspaper, the first indication of the number of political arrests in the region last year.

The official figure for counter-revolutionary trials in 1995 is unknown, but in 1994 there were 44 cases involving 164 people, according to earlier court reports, and 85 people tried for the same offence in 1993.

247 people were sent for trial for counter-revolutionary offences in the five year period from 1988 to 1992, nearly ten per cent of criminal cases in that period, according to an internal document obtained by TIN. This means that a total of at least 593 people have been tried for political offences in the Tibet region in 8 years since 1988, with figures for one year still unknown.

The number of people detained for political offences will have been much higher than this, since the official reports rarely give figures for those who are sent without trial to administrative detention centres or to re-education through labour camps, or for those awaiting a decision on their cases whilst in detention.

At least one political case last year appears to have been dealt with as an ordinary crime. According to the court report published in the Tibet Daily on 3rd June, fourteen "criminals" at Ganden monastery were accused of "inciting monks to shout reactionary slogans, organising illegal demonstrations, smashing up a police sub-station, beating up state functionaries, stubbornly following the Dalai clique, [and] vainly attempting to smash up the fatherland."

The case - which arose from a protest at Ganden on 6th May last year when monks attacked Tibetan officials who had told them to remove photographs of the Dalai Lama - appears not to have been one of the 47 state security cases referred to earlier in the report.

The report did not say what sentences the monks had received, but said a tough, speeded up sentencing policy had been implemented in line with the nationwide "Strike Hard" campaign, which began in the TAR in May last year.

"The Lhasa Intermediate People's court adjusted major elements of the trial procedure and brought this case to a rapid conclusion, dealing a ruthless blow to the rampant arrogance of the splittists," said the annual report, referring to the Ganden case. During "Strike Hard" campaigns officials are obliged to use expedited legal procedures and to hand out stiffer penalties.

"The Anti-splittism and 'Strike Hard' campaigns have achieved tangible results, protecting the social and political stability of Tibet," said Thubten Tsewang, the region's chief prosecutor, whose annual work report was also printed in the 3rd June edition of the Tibet Daily. He added that police and prosecutors should guard against "political, ideological and cultural infiltration of the Dalai Lama clique."

"We resolutely punished in accordance with the law those criminal elements who endangered state security and engaged in splittist activities," said Bai Zhao in his speech.

The Strike Hard campaign in 1996 led to the arrest and trial of 1,293 people in the TAR, of whom 1,173 were tried for

"severely threatening public order". 75 of the 97 people charged with state security offences were tried during the Strike Hard campaign.

The court report lists seven cases of people who were executed in 1996, all of them convicted of robbery or murder, or both - Sonam Choedron and Trasang in Lhasa, Tenzin and Dondrup in Tingri, and Chen Zhaohe, Guo Jianguo and Liao Dengfu in an incident on 21st April at Gongkar airport. "To the applause of all sections of society, we resolutely and in accordance with the law sentenced to death these reckless criminals guilty of the most heinous crimes, who were widespread scourges and were steeped in iniquity," said Judge Bai.

The seven executions cited in the annual court report represent a selection of last year's cases - other official newspaper reports last year listed 29 executions in the TAR last year, including at least 18 Tibetans. Five others are known from unofficial sources. None of the people executed have been described by the authorities or informed sources as political offenders.

Recent press reports in the west saying that ten people had been executed in Tibet for political activities were based on a misreading of the 3rd June article and were incorrect.

Acquittal Rate: Low

Defendants were found not guilty in eight of the 1,853 criminal cases on which the courts reached a verdict last year, giving an acquittal rate of 0.43%, and 25 defendants were released without punishment. Sentences of more than five years were handed down in 60% of the cases, according to the report.

The case involving the robbery and killing carried out by Sonam Choedron and Trasang was one of the first to occur after the "Strike Hard" campaign begun, and so was also carried out according to a new, accelerated procedure.

"After the request [by the Public Security Bureau] to bring charges in the Suolang Quzhen and Zhasang case, the Lhasa Procuratorate took just two hours, in accordance with the law, to bring charges against the two accused," said Thubten Tsewang, Chief Prosecutor, in his annual report. The murder by the two sisters took place on 4th May and they were tried and sentenced to death on 3rd June, according to other Tibet Daily reports.

"During the 'Strike Hard' struggle, regional procuratorial organs upheld the principles of the policy of being 'quick and hard' in accordance with the law and the 'two basics'," said Thubten Tsewang. "Our region last year maintained a policy of 'attack and defend at the same time, cure both the symptoms and disease', thus conscientiously enacting comprehensive security policies," said the court report.

\$6,700 Compensation for Vigilante Abuse

Two Tibetans received over 56,000

yuan - about \$6,700 - from the Lhasa Police force in compensation for being abused by a group of voluntary police. Jamyang Dorje and Tashi Dorje took the "Joint Defence Team of the Unity New Village Police Sub-station" to court for "administrative infringement of rights", according to the annual court report. It gave no further details of the incident.

The success of the case against the Joint Police Team - a sort of vigilante squad made up of local volunteers and operated by sub-police stations - indicated that China's administrative laws, which allow

citizens to sue officials for abusing their powers, can be effectively used in the region.

In 1992 Lhasa had 184 joint defence teams or similar teams involving 988 people set up to help the uniformed police. Four of the largest teams, which presumably do not wear uniforms, operated in the Barkar area of Lhasa and consisted of 71 unemployed youths, according to a Tibet Daily report last month. There were 2 million joint defence teams in China in 1990.

Armed Police Warned 1997 will be "More Arduous"

Extract from "Tibet Closed Off During Hong Kong Hand-over"

TIN News Update/28 June, 1997 (part)

The Hong Kong hand-over is apparently seen by the Chinese authorities as linked to increasing pro-independence activities in Tibet. "As China will soon resume exercising its sovereignty over Hong Kong, hostile forces in the West and the Dalai clique have gone a step further to shift the focus of their attempt to 'Westernize' and 'split up' China to Tibet," said a front page article in the Tibet Daily on 14th May.

"Only by adopting powerful measures according to law to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the Dalai clique can it be fundamentally ensured that our region will have lasting peace and stability and prosperity and progress," said the article, which described the security situation in the region as "relatively grim".

The 1997 work plan for the Tibet Corps of the People's Armed Police, unveiled at a meeting in Lhasa on 2nd March, warned

troops in Tibet that their tasks would become "more arduous" during the coming year, because of a combination of the Hong Kong hand-over and increased pro-independence activity.

"The year 1997 is very important to China in the process of its march towards the new century," the troops were told by Guo Jinlong, an executive deputy secretary of the Tibet Communist Party. "Our country will resume the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong and convene the Party's 15th National Congress ... the struggle against division facing our region will become more acute and complicated," Guo told the Armed Police, according to a radio broadcast monitored by the BBC's Summary of World Broadcasts.

Public security officers and the armed forces in all major Chinese cities have been on alert since mid-June, reported the Hong Kong newspaper Ming Pao on 17th

June, saying that police forces had been reinforced in "key and sensitive areas" throughout China, with more than 30,000 policemen expected to be on patrol in Beijing during the handover period.

590,000 people have been detained in China in the last three months in an anti-crime drive designed to "forestall trouble ahead of Hong Kong's handover", according to the official journal the Legal Daily, cited in an AP report on 24th June. The paper said that police had captured 23,000 prison escapees and seized almost 1.2 million firearms during the crackdown.

There are unconfirmed reports that "dozens" of political prisoners have been temporarily moved from jails in Tibet and Xinjiang to Beijing in an attempt to prevent instability during the handover period, according to the South China Morning Post on 26th June.

Hong Kong Celebrations Raise Expectations in Lhasa

TIN News Update/28 June, 1997b (part)

China's efforts to avoid unrest during the Hong Kong hand-over may be raising the wrong expectations in Lhasa, where the Hong Kong celebrations appear to be encouraging Tibetan nationalism instead Chinese re-unification.

The increase in security during the hand-over and the extensive propaganda about Hong Kong's return to China risked provoking a negative reaction in Tibet, but the authorities face extra difficulties because the hand-over has coincided with reports of earthquakes and comets, both of which are seen as portents of political unrest [see "Earthquake Warnings Lead to

Mantras" for further details].

China's publicity about the hand-over of Hong Kong celebrates it as a liberation from foreign occupation, a view which Tibetans in Lhasa are apparently happy to accept but which they assume is equally applicable to their own situation, according to reports from the Tibetan capital.

"Tibet does not belong to China like Hong Kong does not belong to the British," said an appeal reportedly written by an unknown dissident group in Lhasa this week, of which copies were released yesterday by the exiled Tibetan government in India.

"Why can China take back Hong Kong

from British colonized rule but not give up its colonized rule in Tibet?" demanded the statement. The origin of document is impossible to verify, but it matches closely other reports of views currently circulating in Tibet.

Tension has been heightened further by a steep increase in security around Lhasa, including unusual troop movements and travel restrictions designed to avoid disturbances during the Hong Kong hand-over. "We should strive to do well in stabilizing the situation in our region, which is a matter of great importance, to ensure the success of the two great events, which are the return of Hong Kong and the con-

vocation of the Party's 15th Congress," said a Tibet Daily article on 14th May. "We should take action in a timely manner against sabotaging activities such as causing disturbances and creating troubles, and resolutely wipe out these activities by nipping them in the bud," contin-

ued the article. [...]

"You could feel a sense of tension," said a tourist who returned this week from Tibet. "We saw military convoys of nearly 100 trucks with supplies, troops were camping out in tents, and the assumption was that it had to do with

paranoia over the Hong Kong hand-over," added the American, a lecturer from San Francisco who speaks Tibetan. "There is no Tibetan interest in joining in the celebrations," he said.

Chinese Press on Strike Hard and the Anti-Corruption Campaign

Summaries of selected articles from the Chinese press concerning the Strike Hard and anti-corruption campaigns in Tibet during 1997. The date at the head of each item shows when the article was published or broadcast in China; the date in brackets at the end of each item indicates when the article was published in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts.

Strike Hard, Security and the Anti-Crime Campaign

The Strike Hard campaign continued to be emphasised, and the 1996 government work report given by Gyaltsen Norbu on 15 May stated that first priority in Strike Hard should be given to cracking down on "sabotage activities by separatists", and on criminal gangs involved in explosions and assassinations and using guns. The courts handled 2,126 criminal cases during the year, and 60% of prisoners were sentenced to more than five years imprisonment, life imprisonment or death, according to the report. Tibet TV on 6th November indicated that the "Strike Hard" would continue, with the same priorities. In November, two Chinese judges were detained in Lhasa on suspicion of involvement in corruption.

20th January

Public security organs at all levels in Tibet carried out a "forceful strike hard struggle against selected targets", reported Zi Cheng [Tsultrim], director of the TAR Public Security Department, at a meeting on public security in Lhasa on 19th January. Zi Cheng urged public security officials to integrate their efforts to crack down on "splittist elements' sabotaging activities" and to make greater contributions to Tibet's political and social stability, reported Tibet TV in Lhasa (SWB 27th January).

27th February

The opening session of the TAR Armed Police Corps [the PAP] enlarged meeting was presided over by Wang Jianping, commander of the regional armed police corps, according to Tibet TV. Zi Cheng [Tsultrim], member of the TAR party committee standing committee and the secretary of the Political Science and Law Commission, attended the meeting, and Maj-Gen Zhang Zhu, political commissar of the regional armed police, gave a speech (SWB 4th March).

3rd March

The enlarged meeting of the TAR Armed Police Corps Party Committee concluded in Lhasa on 2nd March, according to Tibet Radio. The meeting was attended by the regional leaders Guo Jinlong, Zi Cheng,

Gyamco [Gyatso] and Yang Song, as well as by Bal Zhao, the TAR Court President, and Tudeng Calwang [Thubten Tsewang], chief prosecutor of the TAR. Guo Jinlong reviewed the work done in 1996 and set out the corps' tasks for the coming year in his speech to the meeting. Guo spoke of the need to "seek progress through stable endeavours in economic and social development" and warned that the struggle against "division facing [Tibet] will become more acute and complicated" (SWB 6th March).

3rd April

The frontier guards of the TAR Armed Police Corps held an enlarged meeting of its Party committee in Lhasa, according to Tibet TV. Wang Jianping, commander of the TAR armed police corps, and leaders of the relevant departments attended the meeting. Yu Shien, political commissar of the TAR Armed Police Corps, delivered a work report on the building of frontier guards of the regional armed police corps (SWB 8th April).

30th April

The spring-summer "strike hard" campaign has "further improved public order, winning unanimous praise from all in society" and "hit hard at the criminals' rampant arrogance", according to a report on Tibet TV in Lhasa (SWB 5th May).

29th May

The importance of the "Strike Hard" campaign was emphasised in the 1996 Tibet Autonomous Region Government Work Report presented by the chairman of the TAR government, Gyalcan Norbu, at the fifth session of the sixth regional People's Congress on 15th May. "We should give first priority to cracking down on sabotage activities by separatists, and put stress on cracking down on criminal gangs involved in explosions, assassinations and cases of committing crimes by use of guns," said Gyalcan Norbu, reading from the Work Report, reported in the Tibet Daily (SWB 5th July).

3rd June

The "Strike Hard" campaign was carried out "with the power of a thunder-bolt and the speed of lightning" In 1996, stated the "Report on the Work of the Tibet Autonomous Regional Higher People's Court", delivered at the fifth session of the Sixth Tibet Autonomous Regional People's Congress on 20th May and reported by the Tibet Daily. During the year, the courts handled a total of 2,126 criminal cases and closed 1,853 cases after trials stated the report; 47 first trial cases involved 98 persons in crimes endangering national security. Sixty per cent of prisoners were sentenced to more than five years of imprisonment, life imprisonment or death. Forty-four corruption cases

involved the loss of 78.0281m yuan (\$9.754m) to the government or collective organisations (SWB 4th July).

28th July

The TAR held a forum and soiree to mark the 70th anniversary of Army Day, according to Xinhua. Party, government, and military leaders celebrated the anniversary and discussed plans for supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to families of army men

Anti-Corruption Campaign

4th March

Buqiong [Buchung], secretary of the TAR Discipline Inspection Commission, delivered the committee's work report at its meeting on the 4th March, according to a Tibet TV report. He spoke of the general requirements for the year's anti-corruption work, of improving party work style and of maintaining clean and honest government (SWB 11th March).

23rd April

The TAR Party Committee issued a circular instructing Party cadres to study and implement the Central Committee's "Clean Government Guiding Principles", according to the Tibet Daily. Observing the guidelines would help in promoting economic reform and in guarding political and social stability in Tibet, the circular said (SWB 15th May).

24th April

A meeting of the TAR procuratorial organs on law and discipline inspection concluded that Tibet's work in this field was still not sufficient for the demands of the situation, according to the Tibet People's Broadcasting Station on 26th April. Future work will

and revolutionary martyrs, and for the army's support of the government and its cherishing of the people. Gyalcan Norbu, chairman of the TAR government, praised the PLA troops and the Armed Police force stationed in Tibet "for their important contributions to Tibet's stability and development" (SWB 5th August).

6th November

The winter "Strike Hard" campaign

focus on the handling of abuses of power and malfeasance by government functionaries and on government functionaries' infringements of civil and democratic rights (SWB 29th April).

20th November

Buqiong [Buchung], secretary of the TAR Discipline Inspection Committee, attacked corruption within the Party in a speech to the third plenary session of the Fifth TAR Party Committee, according to the Tibet Daily of 26th November. He said that Tibet had just started to implement the "eight-point regulations on stopping extravagance and waste" and was far from implementing them fully (SWB 22nd December).

20th November

Gyalcan [Gyaltsen] Norbu, the TAR Party executive deputy secretary, spoke (in his summing up speech to the Third Plenary Meeting) of the importance of successfully implementing in Tibet the Party Central Committee and State Council regulations on the need to practice "strict economy" and of putting an end to extravagance and waste. These comments by Gyalcan Norbu were includ-

ed and reported by the Tibet Daily on 25th November (SWB 31st December).

was aimed at "cracking down on separatists' sabotage activities and various criminal activities", according to a Lhasa City Public Security Bureau mobilisation meeting reported on Chinese regional TV from Tibet. Close attention would be paid to four areas: severe crackdown, taking strict precautions, strict supervision, and stringent control (SWB 8th November).

26th November

The Tibet Daily reported a rally held by the Lhasa City Party committee to outline progress made in investigating violations of the law. Cihuo [Tselo or Tsenor], deputy secretary of the Lhasa City Party committee and secretary of the Discipline Inspection Committee, spoke at the meeting. Ding Wenli, former chief judge of the Lhasa City Intermediate People's Court's executive division, and Bi Linyu, former chief judge of the court's economic division, were detained as suspects in two separate embezzlement and bribe taking cases (SWB 15th December).

17th December

Tibet has not put an end to corruption, degeneration, extravagance and waste in government and among Party members, according to a Tibet Daily commentator's article. The article highlighted the need to conscientiously investigate a number of "major" corruption cases and expel from the party those who are found to have been corrupt (SWB 20th January 1998).

6. Politics

Summary

In early 1997 there were continuing reports leaked to Western journalists suggesting that policies in the TAR the previous year had been too hardline and it was rumoured that Party Secretary Chen

Kuiyuan might be recalled from Lhasa. This never happened and policy appeared to continue to harden during 1997. However, at a major Party meeting in Lhasa in November, Tibetan Party leaders

issued public statements indicating that there had been a split between leading members of the TAR Party Committee. The meeting, which was held a week after Chen had left Tibet to spend the winter in

Beijing, was given unusual prominence by the official media in the TAR, which seemed to go out of their way to praise Chen's leading deputy, Ragdi.

Despite Chen Kuiyuan's absence from the November meeting there are still no signs that he has lost his position or that his hardline policy has changed. In his last public speech of the year before leaving for Beijing, Chen warned of the need to be

vigilant against a new form of enemy, the "hidden reactionaries" who use criticism of Chinese cultural policies in Tibet as a disguised way of promoting Tibetan independence.

On 16 November Jampa Phuntsok, previously head of the government in Lhokha prefecture in southern Tibet, was elected Party Secretary of Lhasa municipality. An ethnic Chinese, Hu Chunhua, has taken

over as head of Lhokha prefecture's government - making Lhokha the only prefecture in the TAR not to have a Tibetan governor. The next day, Ragdi announced that "adjustments" had been made "to reinforce a number of leading groups at prefecture and county levels", which may indicate that a power struggle has already led to personnel changes at the middle levels of the Party in the TAR.

Officials Silent Over Deng's Death; Tibetan Allowed to Speak Out

TIN News Update/24 February, 1997 v2

A senior party official in Tibet has expressed support for Deng Xiaoping in an exception to what appears to be a nationwide policy of silence among provincial leaders regarding China's paramount ruler, who died on Wednesday.

The statement by Deputy Party Secretary Tenzin, broadcast on Tibet TV on Friday night 21st February, was the first reported comment on Deng's death by a leading provincial official, according to reports from the BBC Monitoring Service.

Tenzin emphasised that Tibet should continue to implement the policies laid down by Deng, according to the broadcast, which ended with shots of ordinary soldiers and policemen expressing support for the policies of China's late paramount ruler.

Abdulahat Abdurixit, Governor of Xinjiang, is the only other named official outside Beijing, Shanghai or Tianjin to have been reported as speaking publicly on the issue, apart from the party secretary of Sichuan, the province where Deng was born.

Both Tenzin and Abdurixit have been appointed to "the Funeral Committee for Comrade Deng Xiaoping", announced by Xinhua six hours after Deng's death. The appointment is a boost for the Tibetan, who ranks only 6th in the Tibet branch of the Party.

There is otherwise near total silence from provincial Chinese leaders and senior officials about the death of Deng, and television and radio broadcasts in the first four of the six days of official mourning have only carried interviews with ordinary citizens, unsigned announcements from the Central authorities, or archive footage of the former leader. Even national-level leaders have kept quiet, with only a few brief comments, notably from President Jiang Zemin, Li Ruihuan, head of the Political Consultative Conference, and Minister of Trade Wu Yi.

Chinese provincial officials are usually required to make immediate public statements endorsing any central announcement.

The only other notable exception to the policy of official silence has been the security forces, whose provincial officials, notably in Jinan, have given statements expressing support for Deng's policies. A major statement was issued on Saturday 22nd February by the leaders of all military regions and the armed forces expressing support for Deng's policies. The Discipline Inspection Committee in Shandong, effectively a sort of internal police force within the Party, also made a public statement of support.

The uncharacteristic silence in the first four days of mourning suggests that a detailed instruction may have been issued ordering that no public comment should be made concerning Deng except by the security forces and in the two most sensitive border regions.

The instructions may have been motivated by the determination of the authorities to avoid any risk of large scale public mourning which might in turn lead to unrest. Major unrest broke out in China in 1976 and 1989 when people gathered in large numbers in response to the deaths of Zhou Enlai and Hu Yaobang respectively and took the opportunity to call for political reforms.

The two exceptions to the silence policy - the security forces and the western regions - could reflect Beijing's need to demonstrate that the new leadership has the support of the security forces and that China's two most restive regions are also under control.

The official communiques on Deng's death are careful to stress repeatedly that they are addressed to "the people of all nationalities" within China, not just the ethnic Chinese who make up 91% of the population. A Hong Kong paper, Singtao Ribao, claimed on Thursday that the

armed forces had been put on full alert and that police forces were "in a state of emergency" with particular focus on Xinjiang and Tibet, but this could not be confirmed.

Yesterday the policy of avoiding public mourning became clear, at least in one area, when police in Sichuan banned any public act of mourning and carried out a number of arrests after hundreds of people gathered in the streets and fought over priority in laying wreaths at the foot of a monument, according to BBC reports.

"Study meetings" are being held behind closed doors in work units throughout China, which involve reading the official eulogy on Deng issued in Wednesday night under the title "Letter to the Entire Party, the Entire Army and the People of All Ethnic Groups Throughout the Country". Only those people employed within the state sector are members of work units, but other citizens have been told to continue their lives as normal, although bars and places of entertainment have been closed in some places.

The central authorities, who have already announced that no foreigners will be invited to the mourning activities, said on Thursday that "mourning places" will be set up in Chinese embassies abroad so people can express their condolences, but it is not clear if such sites have been set up within China.

A letter from Deng's family saying that grief should be expressed in "an utterly plain and solemn way" has been published to explain the low-key response to the death, although one Hong Kong newspaper claimed that the letter was a fabrication imposed on the family by the leadership.

The heads and first deputy heads of each provincial party committee and government have been included amongst the more than 420 men and 25 women on the Funeral Committee, which is organising the "mammoth memorial meeting" due to take place at 10 am on Tuesday 25th

February and which "the masses" have been ordered to listen to or watch on TV or radio.

Tibet's Party Secretary Chen Kuiyuan and two of his three main deputies - Ragdi and Gyaltsen Norbu - are on the committee together with Tenzin, as is Geng Quanli, the political commissar of the Tibet Military District.

Phagpalha Gelek Namgyal and Ngapo Ngawang Jigme hold high positions on the committee as a result of their largely honorific roles in the Political Consultative Conference or the National People's Congress. The only other Tibetan name recognised among the committee appointees is that of Dorje Tsering, Minister of Civil Affairs.

Deng and Tibet

Deputy Secretary Tenzin's call for Deng's policies to be continued has complex implications, because the patriarch's later reform policies, broadly seen in China as liberal until the 1989 repression of the democracy movement, were not welcomed in Tibet, even by relative moderates like Tenzin.

Deng's policies in the late 1970s had allowed for recognition of Tibet's "special characteristics" and for extensive cultural and economic liberalisation, but at the Second Work Forum on Tibet in 1984 Deng insisted that Tibet should be opened up to the rest of China.

He thus overruled objections from senior leaders in Tibet, who argued that this would lead to an inflow of Chinese traders and to greater Chinese cultural impact on Tibet. Hu Yaobang, the then General Secretary who had supported the moderates in Tibet, was criticised by Deng for excessive leniency towards Tibetans and forced to resign three years later.

Deng's opening up policy in Tibet and elsewhere was intensified after his spring tour of China's southern provinces in 1992, which led to the immediate end of the "special characteristics" policy, the appointment of Chen Kuiyuan as Tibet Party Secretary, and a gradual diminution of cultural revitalisation in the region.

Deng Xiaoping had played a leading role in the invasion and subjugation of Tibet in the 1950s and even in his later years is said to have dealt directly with

Tibet policy issues. "Although he was very busy attending to numerous affairs of state every day, he was always concerned about the cause of Tibet's revolution and construction", his protegee Yin Fatang wrote of Deng in the *Tibet Daily* on 16th September last year.

In 1950, as Political Commissar of the 18th Corps of the Second Field Army and secretary of the Party's Southwest Bureau, Deng had been directly entrusted by Mao with the process of liberating Tibet. "The great exploits and special contributions made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the quelling of the Tibetan rebellion, and the accomplishment of democratic reform there ... will always be engraved on the roof of the world and will last forever like the snow-covered peak of Jomolongma and like the waves of the Yarlung Tsangpo River," wrote Yin last year, describing episodes associated by many Tibetans with widespread atrocities and thousands of deaths.

Deng maintained a headline "leftist" stance during the crushing of the 1959 uprising, which was carried out by officers whom he had appointed from the 18th Corps and with whom he had a personal connection, such as Zhang Guohua, commander of the Tibet Military District and Tan Guansan, the Political Commissar of the District.

Deng perceived at an early stage that difficulties in Tibet would be in the political rather than military spheres. "Concerning the issue of Tibet ... political considerations are primary and should be placed above military considerations," Deng said, according to the *People's Daily* on 21st January 1997.

In November 1950, a month after the invasion of central Tibet, a major policy statement, probably written by Deng, was issued which announced the construction of a "new Tibet within the new China" and which appears to have been the basis for the "one country, two systems" formula currently applied to Hong Kong.

"All matters concerning reform of any kind in Tibet will be settled completely in accordance with the wishes of the Tibetan people and through consultation between the Tibetan people and the leadership personnel in Tibet," stated the policy document. The document, which promised that

the army would "protect the lives and property of all religious bodies and people ... and protect all lamaseries and temples" was later formalised as the 17 Point Agreement of 1951.

In 1957 Deng launched the Anti-Rightist Movement, at a time when resistance to Party policies was intensifying in the eastern and central regions of Tibet. This led to the purging of Baba Phuntsog Wangyal, Director of the Propaganda Department of the 18th Corps and the only Tibetan with a high-ranking position in the Communist Party, who was accused of "local nationalism". Deng later refused to help with Wangyal's rehabilitation and never accepted responsibility for the campaign or its victims.

In 1966, during the Cultural Revolution, Deng was himself accused by Red Guards of "compromising with the class enemy" because of his attempts to accommodate the upper levels of Tibetan society, as demonstrated by his 1950 document on Tibet policy. The 18th Corps was disbanded, and Deng, along with other Chinese members of the Corps who had occupied important positions in Tibet, was purged.

When Deng returned to power in the late 1970s he re-asserted his direct control over Tibet by appointing his friend Yin Fatang, who had been in the 18th Corps, as first Party Secretary in the Tibet Autonomous Region. At the same time Deng returned to his long-term objective of "reunifying the motherland" by pacifying its border areas and opened negotiations with the exiles. On 12 March 1979 he held a meeting with the Dalai Lama's elder brother, Gyalto Thondup, and told him that negotiations could begin as long as there was no call for independence and no discussion of past repression. The negotiations collapsed in 1984 and have never been successfully resumed, meaning that Deng died before achieving a resolution of reunification problems in either Tibet or Hong Kong.

For most Tibetans the reforms and liberalisations for which Deng achieved recognition in China in the early 1980s seem to have been associated not with Deng but with Hu Yaobang, who was punished for his liberalism in Tibet and who is still highly regarded by many Tibetans.

Power Struggle in Tibet Party

TIN News Update/16 November, 1997

China's top leader in the TAR has spoken in public for the first time about a power struggle among the

leaders of the region.

The speech, which indicated that the non-Tibetan leaders in the region have

regained full support from Beijing and are now firmly in control in Tibet, called for special vigilance against a new form of

"hidden" enemy among Tibetans. It cited as the most notable example Chadel Rinpoche, the former abbot who had led the search for the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, one of Tibet's most prominent religious leaders.

A group including leading scholars and lamas was warned that criticism of China's cultural policies was being used by these "hidden reactionaries" as a form of political sabotage, and that attacks on cultural policy could be viewed by the authorities as a disguised way of promoting independence.

In the speech, broadcast on Tibet Radio on 9th November, the TAR Party Secretary Chen Kuiyuan rejected reports of a power struggle in the TAR leadership. "At present, some people are spreading a rumour that the leading group in the Tibet Autonomous Region will be changed and that leading members of the regional party committee will leave Tibet," Chen said in the speech, implying that the rumoured criticisms had targeted officials from outside the region, probably Chinese like himself. "This is a totally groundless rumour," he said.

"The party Central Committee has trust in the leading group of the regional party committee and has issued clear instructions on maintaining stability for the lead-

ing group of the Tibet Autonomous Regional CCP Committee," he said.

Unprovoked statements denying or indicating internal conflict among Party leaders are extremely rare in China and the admission of central intervention in the running of the TAR Party indicates that there had been division among the leaders.

"All comrades of our leading group are determined to unite as one, dedicate ourselves heart and soul to the same cause, [and] firmly follow the instructions of the party Central Committee," said the speech, originally delivered to a "forum for non-Party patriotic personalities" on 7th November.

Unofficial reports in November last year said that Chen had been criticised by moderates in the Party for being too hard-line in the campaign of political re-education in Tibetan monasteries, which obliges each monk and nun to denounce the exiled Dalai Lama in writing as a religious leader.

In June this year a journalist from the French news agency AFP was given permission to interview officials in Lhasa and reported "well-placed sources" as saying that the re-education campaign had "been judged too violent in Beijing". Other sources last year claimed that Li

Ruihuan, head of China's nationality and religions policies and No. 4 in the Communist Party hierarchy, had criticised the hard line in the TAR, although this has never been confirmed.

There were reports of compromises being reached between the three great monasteries in Lhasa and the political re-education teams late last year, but since then the re-education drive has resumed in all areas of the region with no sign of relaxation.

In the 7th November speech Chen indicated that he had Beijing's support against his critics, and that the main objective under his leadership is to "eliminate all factors jeopardizing stability" in order to achieve the "goal of socialist modernisation".

This can only be done by applying a class analysis, said Chen, who used the phrase "class struggle" or "class contradiction" 11 times in the speech. "If we fail to properly handle class contradictions and class struggle in our real life, there will be no guarantee for stability in Tibet and its reform and development will not be able to proceed smoothly," he told the "non-Party patriotic personalities" - intellectuals, scholars, lamas and former aristocrats who are not Party members or leading government officials.

Ragdi Gives Support to Chen in Power Struggle

Extract from "Tibet Leaders to Visit Europe", TIN News Update/23 November, 1997

The No.2 leader in the Tibet Autonomous Region has declared his support for his immediate superior, Tibet Party Secretary Chen Kuiyuan.

"The speeches made by Comrade Chen Kuiyuan are the concentration of the collective wisdom of the regional party committee as well as his own incisive views," said Ragdi (Chinese: Raidi), executive deputy Party secretary of the TAR, in a speech broadcast on Tibet TV on 17th November.

"To promote various work in Tibet, we must have correct views and courage as Comrade Kuiyuan has," said Ragdi. Public praise for other leaders is rare in Tibet, and supports earlier reports of a struggle in the Tibet Party Committee to oust Chen from the leading position.

"The regional Party Committee has united as one and held steadfast regardless of resistance or interference from various sides," said Ragdi. "The intimate unity between leading members of Tibetan and



Above, Ragdi

Han nationalities of the regional party committee is a good example for cadres in the whole autonomous region," he added, according to a translation by the BBC

Monitoring Service. He also announced that "adjustments" had been made "to reinforce a number of leading groups at prefecture and county levels" in the Tibet Autonomous Region, an indication of personnel changes among middle level leaders in the Tibet Party.

On 7th November Chen described rumours of a pending change in the Party leadership in Tibet as "groundless". The opposition against Chen Kuiyuan is believed to centre on his headline views on Tibetan culture and religion, which he has ruled are connected to the pro-independence movement.

Tenzin, a deputy secretary in the Tibet Party regarded as relatively supportive of Tibetan culture and education, has not been reported in public since 10th September, according to records compiled by the BBC Monitoring Service and by TIN. Tenzin is usually highly visible and had appeared on average at least twice a month this year until September.

Ragdi: Cadres Told to Report any Support for Dalai Lama

Extract from "Tibet Delegation Cancels Visit after British Insist on NGO Meetings", TIN News Update/26 November, 1997

Further reports have emerged from Tibet yesterday suggesting that Ragdi, the most senior Tibetan in the TAR, has consolidated his position after what is believed to have been a recent internal challenge to the Party leadership in Lhasa.

Tibet radio broadcast a report on 20th November saying that a speech by Ragdi, known in Chinese as Raidi, had received "broad and enthusiastic endorsement from all attending the session", according to a translation published by the BBC Monitoring Service yesterday.

In the speech, which had opened the third plenary session of the Fifth Tibet Party Committee on 17th November, Executive Deputy Secretary Ragdi had told cadres that the policies of his superior, Chen Kuiyuan, "represent a correct view on matters of right and wrong". The

remark is believed to be an indication that Chen had received endorsement of his position from Beijing, probably a consequence of a dispute among Party leaders in Lhasa.

"In an atmosphere of unity, democracy, and truth-seeking, the attendees went all out to emancipate their minds," the report on Chinese regional radio continued.

The radio broadcast on 20th November also emphasised that those Party members who "adopt an ambiguous, wavering stand in the struggle against separatism" will be "duly criticised and educated."

The cadres were told that as members of the Party they were forbidden to "openly or secretly publicise separatist remarks", to "harbour or support separatists in carrying out separatist activities", to "distort history and deny that Tibet is an inalienable part of the mother-

land", or "follow the incorrect outlook on religion and regard religion as the divine and the Dalai as the supreme soul".

The cadres were also told that it was an offence to "support the illegitimate reincarnated child announced by the Dalai clique and recognised by forces outside the Region", a reference to the 8 year old child who has been under "protective custody" in China since he was identified as the 11th Panchen Lama in May 1995.

Infringements will be "handled severely according to the law and discipline", said Buchung, secretary of the Discipline Inspection Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Any cadres "who are aware of such cases but fail to report them to the authorities" will also be subject to the same punishment, he said.

New Party Chief in Lhasa; Chinese Heads Lhokha Government

TIN News Update/7 December, 1997

A new Party Secretary of Lhasa has been elected, according to the main party newspaper in the region, during a tumultuous week in Tibetan politics which saw further signs of a dispute between leaders, a declaration of war on separatists, an attack on opponents of Chinese traders in Tibet, and an announcement that political education is to be extended to lay Tibetans.

The decisions appear to have been connected to a major party meeting called the "Third Enlarged Plenary of the Fifth TAR Party Committee", which opened in Lhasa on 17th November and closed on 20th November.

Jampa Phuntsog (whose name is spelt Xiangba Pingcuo in Chinese) was elected on 16th November as the Party Secretary of Lhasa Municipality - a vast, mainly rural area of 29,000 square kilometres of which the urban area of Lhasa itself covers only 51 sq km.

"The members of the standing committee of the city Party Committee are determined to become good civil servants," said Jampa Phuntsog in his inaugural address. "We will strive to improve ourselves mentally, ideologically and in work style so as to present a new profile of civil servants among the masses," he said,

according to the 17th November edition of the Tibet Daily.

The paper said the new committee consisted of "younger, better educated, more revolutionary and professionally competent cadres" who have "strict political qualifications".

His appointment is a surprise replacement for Lobsang Dondrub, who had held the position for only two years. Dondrub, whose new position is unknown, holds other senior positions and has been a regional vice-governor since December 1993 and a member of the regional Party Committee since at least 1995. Legchog, the man who preceded Dondrub as Lhasa Party Secretary, is now a Deputy Secretary of the regional Party committee as well as a regional vice-governor.

Like Lobsang Dondrub, Jampa Phuntsog headed Lhokha prefecture in southern Tibet before taking the Lhasa position: Phuntsog was commissioner of Lhokha (called Shannan in Chinese) from December 1992 until 1995, and since then has been Party Secretary of the prefecture. While Commissioner of Lhokha he launched a drive to start a chromite mine, as well as to make the area into "Tibet's vegetable and pork supply base".

Previously he had been a deputy com-

missioner in Chamdo prefecture in eastern Tibet from at least 1983 until 1992. He was appointed in 1985 to sit on the Party Committee of the newly formed prefecture of Nyingtri, but he never took up the post and remained in Chamdo.

Jampa Phuntsog was a delegate from the TAR to the National People's Congress in Beijing in 1994 and 1995, and at the March 1994 session he was featured in the national press as one of four senior members of the delegation who were received by Hu Jintao, former Tibet secretary and now a member of the Politburo Standing Committee; among the four was Lobsang Dondrub, Phuntsog's predecessor as Lhasa Party Secretary.

The new Lhasa Party Secretary is not the same person as the Jampa Phuntsog who headed the TAR Cultural Department until 1993, when he was moved after a power struggle to the less important position of Chairman of the TAR Federation of Art and Literature.

Personnel Shifts

The change in the Lhasa party committee came on 16th November, the day before Ragdi, the highest-ranking Tibetan in the Party in the Tibet Autonomous Region, announced that "adjustments" had

been made "to reinforce a number of leading groups at prefecture and county levels", hinting that the current power struggle has already led to personnel changes at the middle levels of the Party in the Tibet Autonomous Region. "We should further strengthen party building with the improvement of leading groups at various levels as the main content," said Ragdi, according to the Tibet Daily on 18th November.

There are reports of a flurry of new appointments in Lhokha prefecture, which lies between Lhasa and the Indian border, where an ethnic Chinese named Hu Chunhua is now known to have taken over Jampa Phuntsog's former position as head of the Prefectural Government in 1996. All other prefectures in Tibet are governed by Tibetans.

Ragdi called in the same speech for new standards of political loyalty to be imposed on cadres, a possible indication that some people may be about to lose their positions.

"The regional party committee has clearly put forward the need to place revolutionising in the first place in building contingents of cadres. The core contents of revolutionising are to persist in fighting against splittism and defending national unity and the unification of the motherland," said Ragdi. "The main points of this requirement are: opposing separatism; criticising Dalai; and fostering the correct concept on the motherland, on nationalities, on religion, on the united front work, and on culture," he added.

Power Struggle, Focus on Splittists

Indications of a struggle within the regional-level Party Committee were first revealed in a speech by Chen Kuiyuan, the regional Party Secretary, on 7th November, but the issue appears to have come to a head at the four-day Plenary session of the Party Committee which began on 17th November.

Ragdi's "important" speech to the Plenary, which opened the meeting, was given "enthusiastic endorsement" at the Plenary's final session and was widely publicised by the official Tibetan media.

In his speech Ragdi said that the party leadership was united and named Chen Kuiyuan as having "a correct view on matters of right and wrong". But experienced observers say that the praise could conceal a challenge to Chen by Ragdi, and noted a Lhasa TV "Commentary" on 26th November which did not mention Chen and which described Ragdi's ideas as "the correct concept for guiding the work of our region". Chen is not reported as having attended the Plenary.

Political leaders in the TAR appear to be focussing at the moment on the need to suppress the pro-independence movement, even though there have been no incidents of bombs by independence activists reported since January and few if any street demonstrations. However, there has been significant international activity with the appointment by the US Government of a special co-ordinator on Tibet and the release of a Hollywood film featuring the young Dalai Lama.

"We must declare a total war - in thinking and theory and in the ideological realm - on Dalai and his separatist forces," said Ragdi, according to the 26th November TV "Commentary", which was monitored by the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts.

"In Tibet, the task of protecting the unification of the motherland is the most important task of all and stability is more important than anything else," Ragdi said in his 17th November speech. "The key is to resolutely eliminate the reactionary influence of the Dalai clique."

"We should foster the Marxist cultural outlook and consciously resist the cultural infiltration by the Dalai clique," said Ragdi, reinforcing earlier calls for attention to be focused on cultural issues.

Practical measures have also been reported in the campaign against the pro-independence movement. On 7th November, the Tibet Daily announced that the People's Armed Police in Tibet had carried out extensive exercises to prepare for "unforeseen events", apparently a reference to civil protests, and on 8th November said that Tibet's Air Defence system had to be improved because "the

hostile Western forces and the Dalai split-tist clique are continuously carrying out separatist activities and infiltration".

Chinese Entrepreneurs Defended: "Allow Other People to Make Money"

Chen Kuiyuan in his last two reported speeches concentrated on defining separatists in terms of class struggle, but Ragdi in his speech to the Third Enlarged Plenary said that attention should also be paid to "the contradiction between the people's growing material and cultural needs and the backward social productive forces".

The device allowed him and Gyaltzen Norbu, No.3 in the Party hierarchy, to mount a joint attack at the Plenary on unnamed party members who they say are opposing China's drive to expand the private business sector, which in Tibet means an increased influx of Chinese traders.

"We will not hold biased views on the growth of the non-public economic sectors in Tibet," Ragdi said in his address to the meeting. "Are we prejudiced against the non-public sector of the economy? Some people one-sidedly believe in the superiority of the socialist system", said Gyaltzen Norbu on the second day of the meeting.

Speeches by Ragdi, Gyaltzen Norbu and Chen have all focussed on persuading Tibetans to accept Chinese migration into the area. "We should greet people from outside our region with broad-minded hospitality; ... we will not quibble over such issues as the number of businessmen from outside the region, [or] the sharing of profits with outsiders," Ragdi was quoted as saying, suggesting a forthcoming increase in moves to attract Chinese entrepreneurs to the area.

"We should not be afraid of other people taking away our businesses or jobs. We should have the broad-mindedness to allow other people to make money while we make progress," he continued. "Those people have been engaging in construction and development." Chen said earlier this month in support of migrant traders in Tibet.

Study of 1,200 Tibetan Officials: New Leadership Emerges

TIN Press Release/15 December, 1997

A major new study was released on 15th December by Tibet Information Network charting the emergence of a new generation of Tibetan leaders, nurtured for 20 years by the Party and now apparently

considered ready for presentation to the outside world.

In December three delegations of leading Tibetan cadres from Tibet asked to visit western countries in a move to win

international support for the region's politicians. At the same time press reports indicate that a struggle for power is taking place within Tibet between younger Tibetan cadres and Chinese apparatchiks.

Leaders in Tibet: A Directory gives the background, history and statistics of Tibet's "second generation" of leaders - ethnic Tibetan cadres brought up by the Party to replace the former aristocrats, who are no longer trusted by Beijing - and of the institutions they run.

Of the cadres who run regional or higher level departments in the Tibet Autonomous Region, 44% are Tibetan, according to the new TIN study. The official figure for Tibetans at the regional level, arrived at by looking at a small sample of top, largely ceremonial positions, is 82%.

The study also found that Chinese cadres are generally given positions either in economic planning, in the military or as deputy leaders - 62 of the 72 counties studied in the TAR had Chinese cadres as deputy heads.

The TIN Directory, which lists over 1,200 of the leading cadres in Tibet, found that only 6% of its sample were women, although the official percentage of cadres

who are Tibetan women is 32.3%.

Leaders in Tibet, using data from internal documents, shows the extent of the Communist Party's influence over the Chinese system of provincial administration. The documents show that 20% of all cadres in the TAR administration are running Party organisations, with the result that there were 10 Party organisers for every 34 government officials. Most government officials were also Party members - 44% of all cadres in the TAR were Party members, according to the data.

Leaders in Tibet: A Directory is probably the first comprehensive study of provincial level leadership in China or Tibet. It gives the names and positions of over half of the leading officials in Tibet, biographies of the top 100, and details of Tibetans who hold national level positions in China.

It also includes a detailed chronology of the formation of political institutions in Tibet as well as a year-by year study of Beijing's efforts during the last fifty years

to ensure that the Party retained control over Tibet, while making it appear that governmental or legislative institutions are in fact in control.

Leaders in Tibet is No. 28 of the TIN Background Briefing Papers, a series of in-depth studies on aspects of contemporary Tibet including public security, birth control and religious policies.

Regular Leaders Updates will be published as supplements to the Directory as new information emerges. Leaders Update No. 2 will list TAR Government Bodies and Leaders Update No 3 will list Prefectural officials.

Copies of "Leaders in Tibet: A Directory" are free to TIN subscribers or sell at £24 (US \$40), with reductions for students and bulk orders. To order copies or to subscribe to TIN ph: 44-171 814 9011, fax: 44-171 814 9015 or email: tin@tibetinfo.net

The Third Plenary

Notes on the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth TAR Party Committee, 17th-20th November 1997.

Introduction

The Third Plenary opened in Lhasa on the morning of 17th December 1997. It attracted a high degree of media coverage from the official media in Tibet and reflected a continuing assertiveness in the leadership of the TAR, particularly in their battle against the Dalai Lama and, more unexpectedly, in their determination to increase Chinese economic migration into the region.

The session was presided over by Gyalcan Norbu (Gyaltzen Norbu), one of the three executive deputy secretaries of the TAR Party Committee. Members and alternate members of the regional Party Committee, members of the regional Discipline Committee and Party members and cadres at the regional level attended the meeting, along with leading officials of units directly under the autonomous region and the central authorities, schools of higher learning, regional offices in other localities and various prefectures and cities.

Ragdi, executive deputy secretary, delivered the session's keynote speech on the opening day and Gyalcan Norbu made the "summing up" speech on the 20th November. The members and delegates to the session held meetings in separate groups to discuss Ragdi's speech on the 18th November and 19th November, and the closing of the session was presided over by Ragdi.

There were some notable absentees from the Third Plenary, including Chen Kuiyuan, the TAR Party secretary, Danzin (Tenzin), one of the TAR deputy Party secretaries, and Zi Cheng (Tsultrim), secretary of the TAR Political Legal Commission.

Themes of Discussion at the Plenary

The main themes covered in the plenary meeting were Tibet's economic development and the need for further opening up of the region, Party building and discipline within the TAR Party. These themes were set out in Ragdi's opening speech to the Plenary, which was made up of four sections: 1) Reviewing work and summing up experiences. 2) Emancipating minds, reform and development, opening up. 3) Spiritual civilisation. 4) Party leadership and Party building. However, discussions were dominated by rhetoric about the anti-separatist struggle and the spiritual civilisation campaign. Also worth noting were the glowing references to Ragdi's leadership which appear to reflect an underlying factional struggle within the Party.

Party Building and Party Discipline

In his opening speech to the Plenary, Ragdi stressed the importance of the anti-splittist struggle in assessing the role of Party cadres. The attitudes of each and every cadre and worker in Tibet towards the struggle against the "Dalai" will be the political yardstick by which they will be measured, he said.

Ragdi went on to speak of the wrong "narrow nationalistic" views held by some cadres and inside the United Front in opposing cadres coming to work in Tibet and enterprises from the hinterland setting up businesses in Tibet. Ragdi said that some people in Tibet would be "swept away by the torrents of Tibet's development" if they did not uphold the principle of "two inseparables" (the Han are inseparable from the Tibetans, and vice versa) and shatter their narrow nationalistic ideas.

Ragdi also spoke of the confusion that many Party members and cadres in Tibet had about the question of religion; this, he said, was a result of many people disregarding the Party's policy on religion as expressed by Jiang Zemin. Ragdi noted that "for a long period of time, there was a quiet permission to worship Dalai, restrictions were lifted for Party members to receive religious faith", and he said that the control over temples, recruiting of the clergy, the sale of the Dalai's pictures, articles and recorded tapes had been lax. However, the "27th September incident in 1987" (a demonstration calling for independence by a group of monks), when under the instructions of the "Dalai clique" the "temples were used as the bases and the clergy became the vanguard to create one trouble after another", had taught us a lesson. This necessitated the comprehensive and correct implementation of the Party's policy towards religion, he said.

Ragdi described the criteria for placing and appointing "patriotic people of all nationalities, in all circles": these would be based on their attitude and contributions to socialism and to safeguarding the unity of the "motherland". A patriotic person could be judged primarily and fundamentally by his political attitude, which involved "being firm on major issues of principle such as upholding the motherland's unification, safeguarding unity among nationalities, and supporting the socialist system and the Party's leadership". The second criterion are "his contributions to Tibet's socialist cause and his actual performance in promoting economic development and social progress in Tibet".

Gyalcan Norbu, in his summing up speech to the Third Plenary, spoke of the need to place importance on improving the quality of cadres. He said that in the selection, promotion and appointment of cadres it was necessary to adhere to the principle of "making the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more competent". Two days earlier, he had commented in a discussion meeting with the Shigatse group of delegates to the Third Plenary that "some people, especially some leading cadres [in Tibet] are apathetic, passive and fearful of difficulty; they attempt nothing and accomplish nothing, complain all the time and fail to make headway in work". He took the view that religious idealism, feudal superstition and outdated customs and habits were still shackling some people's minds and were preventing them from accepting new ideas, concepts and cultures.

26th November

A Tibet TV commentary set out the political requirements for Party members and cadres throughout the region as "opposing separatism; criticising the Dalai; and fostering the correct concepts on the motherland, on nationalities, on religion, on the united front work, and on culture" (SWB 29th November).

10th December

The fifth in a series of seven commentaries in the Tibet Daily (on studying and implementing the "spirit" of the Third Plenary) stated that a number of Party members and cadres were once confused about the issue of religion. For some time "the worship of the Dalai was given tacit consent; control over the religious belief of Party members was relaxed". This relaxed policy had caused huge losses to undertakings in Tibet, said the article. "On the issue of whether the Party's policy on religion should be comprehensively and correctly understood and implemented, we have acquired experiences and learned many lessons," demonstrating that the Party's policies on religion must be implemented in an all-round way (SWB 20th January 1998).

17th December

The seventh and final Tibet Daily commentary on the Third Plenary said that, generally speaking, the vast numbers of Party members and cadres had "perfect mastery of ideology, firm political stand, excellent work style and quality which continuously improves. They can implement the Party's line, principles, and policies in a better way, and play an exemplary vanguard role as they should among the masses" (SWB 20th January 1998).

Chen Kuiyuan had also commented on Party building ten days before the Third Plenary in his speech to the 7th November Forum for Non-CCP Patriotic Personalities. Excerpts from this speech were broadcast by Tibet Radio on the 9th November, including this section:

"We all know that elections will be held in this region for the new regional People's Congress, new regional government and new regional committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. The regional Party committee is serious about the personnel arrangements for those organisations, including our attitudes towards Party cadres or patriotic personnel. We will adhere to principles and judge by people's merits and mistakes. In the forthcoming election, all documents within and outside the Party and from the Party Central Committee have set age limits. However, we will not consider age as the sole con-

dition. We will never forget those who stood together with us through storm and stress at the crucial moments in Tibet. The crucial moments, not to mention those moments a long time ago, include the critical moments of the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama in recent years. We will judge people from their attitude against the Dalai's schemes to split the motherland. Those who are of one heart and one mind with the Party and share a common fate with the people at the critical moment in Tibet will not be forgotten by us. We will not judge those people according to their ages" (SWB 17th November).

Economic Development: Crushing Opposition to Chinese Economic Migration

In its discussions relating to economic development, the Third Plenary placed unusual emphasis on the importance of overcoming opposition to further Chinese involvement in the Tibetan economy. A number of speeches dealt in great detail with the need to eradicate such opposition and made a positive approach to Chinese economic migration a requirement for Party cadres. The argument was linked to the need, mandated by the 15th Party Congress in Beijing one month earlier, to encourage the development of the private sector, and it was implied that opposition to Chinese migration was a form of "leftist" opposition to the Congress decision to scale down the role of state enterprises.

Ragdi said in his opening speech that Tibet needed support and aid from people throughout the country due to the backward state of its economic and social development. He praised the "large number of cadres who have come to Tibet from other localities to assist development in this region [and] have worked in the same way as cadres of Tibetan and Han nationalities who have worked for many years in Tibet". Ragdi spoke of the upsurge of support Tibet has received from other areas and the central government in the three years since the Third Forum in July 1994 (SWB 22nd November 1997).

He stated that cadres and enterprises from the hinterland coming to Tibet have "not only promoted Tibet's development and stability, but have also facilitated exchanges and unity among nationalities". Quoting Deng Xiaoping, Ragdi said: "If the number of the Han people in that area has grown a little bit and it helps the development of local ethnic economy, this is not a bad thing" (SWB 15th December). He also remarked that Tibet's development and changes would have been more rapid if the struggle against separatism had not been so fierce (SWB 22nd November).

In the same speech, Ragdi said that in the foreseeable future Tibet would only be able to develop new economic growth points by opening up to other provinces and regions, according to a Tibet Daily report on 18th December. He said that Tibet would need to carry out joint economic developments and co-operation with other provinces and regions and expand co-operation in receiving assistance of trained personnel, technologies and managerial skills rather than just receiving aid. This relation of economic co-operation with other localities should gradually be expanded to scientific, educational, cultural and other fields (SWB 8th December).

Gyalcan Norbu, in his summing-up speech, outlined the measures that needed to be carried out in order to reform enterprises in Tibet. Tibet "should open its door even wider to the outside world and mainly to other parts of China," he said. He also spoke of the need to treat the non-public economic sector as an important and integral part of Tibet's economy and not to envy the profits made by these enterprises. Gyalcan Norbu said Tibet would have to create a more accommodating environment in order to attract "various kinds of economic organisations, groups and individuals from the interior of China to establish and run enterprises in Tibet".

26th November

A Tibet TV commentary broadcast said the Third Plenary session had reached a "historic consensus" in deciding that it was necessary to get rid of the "narrow-minded" nationalities concept in order for Tibet's economy to develop. This, in practice, involved further opening up to people who come from the outside to work and set up businesses in Tibet and treating these people as equals, without discrimination or prejudice. The commentary said this was necessary to stop the quibbling "over issues such as the number of businessmen from outside Tibet, the sharing of profits with outsiders and the proportion of the private economic sector in Tibet". Tibetans should not envy others doing things that they are incapable of doing themselves and be broadminded enough to allow outsiders to make money in Tibet while Tibet made progress, the commentary said (SWB 29th November).

3rd December

According to the second in the series of seven Tibet Daily commentaries, some drawbacks in economic work in Tibet "like frailty, closed-mindedness and dependence" are still "fairly conspicuous" as a result of Tibet "having been affected by planned economy for a long period of time". "Traditional old concepts and modes of thinking have a fairly profound influence on many cadres and masses, and some have even been deep rooted," it said. In the past, "power-holders of some departments have never thought of making reform and are reluctant to do it" because of the many "vested interests". This made it an urgent task to conduct mental emancipation in Tibet (SWB 20th January 1998).

10th December

The fifth Tibet Daily commentary said: "It is not a bad thing if the number of people of the Han nationality is more than that of other nationalities in Tibet [if this] is favourable for economic development of local nationalities" (SWB 20th January 1998).

The Plenary dealt with practical issues in economic development such as the need for rural reform. Tibet "must persist in proceeding from reality and pay close attention to studying ways to accelerate the adjustment of the structure of agricultural and animal husbandry and guide peasants to develop farming and livestock raising," said Gyalcan Norbu in his summing-up speech on 20th November. Agricultural areas must integrate agriculture with animal husbandry, do a good job in breeding fish and raising poultry and, in areas where conditions are suitable, grow vegetables and fruit to increase their income. Pastoral areas must treat the increase in the commodity [livestock] rate as the main task, expedite the adjustment of the mix of livestock, and vigorously develop diversification of the rural economy. Departments in charge of agricultural production at all levels were told to do a good job in organising, allocating and transporting, and supplying such means of production as seeds, chemical fertilisers, pesticide, and plastic film for farming at an early date (SWB 31st December).

Anti-Separatism

The "anti-separatist" or "anti-splittist" struggle is an issue that appears in all the speeches and discussions at the Plenary, as well as in all the various editorials and commentaries by the Tibetan media. The speeches accused the exiles of planning bombings and assassinations, as well as more orthodox forms of protest. One article implied that a number of cadres are supporting the exiles and criticising measures taken by the Party to oppose them.

Ragdi said in his opening speech to the Plenary that the "insolence of separatist forces" had been diminished as a result of the in-depth struggle against splittism carried out in Tibet: "Following the instructions and arrangements of the Party Central Committee, we have openly criticised the crimes of the Dalai Lama throughout the region and confiscated reactionary propaganda materials spread by the Dalai clique." He said that recent successes scored against the "Dalai clique" included launching counter-attacks against political infiltration by the clique, punishing terrorists directed by the Dalai clique to plot explosions and assassinations, and foiling plans for a "peaceful march" into Tibet, a non-cooperation movement and the holding of a referendum. The Dalai clique's scheme to harm Tibet and create religious confusion by taking advantage of the Panchen Lama reincarnation had also been smashed, Ragdi said (SWB 22nd November).

Gyalcan Norbu commented on anti-separatism in a discussion session on 18th November (SWB 11th December). He said that the "struggle against separatism in Tibet is an arduous, complex one" and that Tibet "should keep a cool head, and fully recognise the protracted, complex and arduous nature of the struggle against separatism and the urgency of the struggle at the present". In his summing-up speech, he said that Tibet must maintain social stability and that in order to do this the region must "intensify the struggle against secession, intensify exposure and criticisms of Dalai, educate the masses to further have a clear understanding of the reactionary nature of Dalai, enhance their consciousness of the struggle against secession and thwart the various plots hatched by the Dalai clique and their various activities".

10th December

The fifth Tibet Daily commentary on the "spirit" of the Third Plenary said that some people in the TAR still held a "narrow-minded concept of nationalism" and were not acting in the fundamental interests of the people of various nationalities in the region. These people "have never commented on various vicious attacks from the Dalai clique and hostile forces abroad. Instead, they always use a magnifying glass to find whatever fault there is to be found with our speeches and views against secessionist forces. Some of them take the stand of the Dalai clique, flaunt the banner of nationalism, spread secessionist speeches and views, and conduct secessionist activities." The commentary spoke of the need to "heighten vigilance against such people" (SWB 20th January 1998).

17th December

The seventh in the series of Tibet Daily commentaries set out Chen Kuiyuan's analysis of the existing problems in Tibet and discussed the need for ideological education of the small number of Party members who sided with the "Dalai secessionist clique" (SWB 20th January 1998).

"Hidden" Enemy within the Party

Chen Kuiyuan, in his 7th November speech to the Forum for Non-Party Figures, warned of the need to be vigilant against a new form of "hidden" enemy amongst the ranks of Tibetan leaders. These "hidden" enemies, Chen said, used criticism of Chinese cultural policies in Tibet as a form of political sabotage and their criticisms could be viewed as a disguised way of promoting Tibetan independence.

Buqiong (Buchung), secretary of the TAR Discipline Inspection Commission, also spoke of these "hidden" enemies and of the special significance of strictly enforcing the Party's political discipline and resolutely opposing splittism in his speech to the plenary meeting on the 20th November. The attack was widened to include those who accept reincarnations not recognised by the state. Buqiong said that those who "join and support the Dalai clique and forces outside China in illegally recognising the living Buddha's reincarnation in the region, including those who know but fail to report to the authorities" would also be dealt with.

20th November

Tibet Radio reported extracts from Buqiong's speech, adding that Party members and cadres who did not follow the

Party's discipline guidelines would be duly criticised and educated. If education could not change them, they would be handled according to organisational measures (meaning party discipline). In addition, the radio broadcast quoted Buqiong as saying that those who "distort history and deny Tibet is an inalienable part of the motherland" will also be handled according to "organisational measures" (SWB 27th November).

Power Struggle In Tibet

Chen Kuiyuan, the TAR Party Secretary, spoke publicly of a power struggle amongst the leaders of the TAR Party Committee in a speech to a meeting of non-Party figures on 7th November and broadcast by Tibet Radio on the same day (see TIN News Update; Power Struggle in Tibet Party: "Hidden" Enemy Targeted, dated 16th November 1997).

In the speech, Chen dismissed rumours of personnel changes in the leading group of cadres and reports that leading members of the TAR Party Committee would leave Tibet, a statement which implied that the rumours of changes in the leading group had focused on the leaders from outside the region like Chen himself.

The Role of Ragdi

Ragdi, executive deputy secretary of the TAR Party Committee, appeared to be giving his full support to Chen Kuiyuan in his 17th November speech to the Third Plenary meeting, according to a Tibet TV report of the same day. Ragdi spoke of the speeches made by Chen Kuiyuan as being "the concentration of the collective wisdom of the regional Party as well as his incisive views".

"To promote various work in Tibet, we must have correct views and courage as Comrade Kuiyuan has," Ragdi is reported to have said. Ragdi also spoke of the "intimate unity" between leading members of Tibetan and Han nationalities of the TAR Party Committee as being a good example for cadres in the whole region.

Ragdi's praise of Chen could indicate his support for the Party Secretary, but is more widely interpreted as indicating that he is challenging Chen for control of the TAR Party. This is the only reference made to Chen Kuiyuan in all the speeches and reports from the Plenary session, other than in the seven Tibet Daily commentaries on implementing the "spirit" of the Third Plenary.

Many of the speakers over the four days of the Third Plenary, as well as the media commentaries and editorials, refer to Ragdi's speech on the opening day of the meeting. For example, in a discussion meeting on the 19th November, Jin Xisheng, secretary of the Nyingchi (Nyingtri) prefectural Party Committee, Xiangba Gadeng (Jampa Kelden), director of the TAR Nationality and Religious Commission, and Deji (Dekyi?), secretary of the TAR Communist Youth League committee, are reported to have stressed the brilliance of Ragdi's expositions on struggle against separatism which "combined the central authorities' principles and policies with Tibet's reality". "His expositions on this matter touched the fundamental and critical issue and show that the current regional committee is strong ideologically and politically has tough policy (and) its command is effective", said a Tibet Daily report on 20th November.

A Tibet Radio broadcast on the same day said that Ragdi's speech at the opening of the Third Plenary received "broad, enthusiastic endorsements from all attending the session". In his summing up speech to the Plenary, Gyalcan Norbu (Gyaltsen Norbu) said that Ragdi's "important" speech had been the focus around which all the discussion sessions had revolved. He added that the discussions showed that Ragdi's speech had won popular approval and enthusiastic support from all present.

On 21st November a Tibet Daily editorial said the "important" speech given by Ragdi was "clear in thinking" and "received the approval and high appraisal of most comrades attending the session". The editorial described the speech as being "of great guiding significance for the region's trans-century work". Also, a Tibet TV commentary broadcast on 26th November said Ragdi's summation of the current work of Tibet - described under the slogan "be firm politically, be flexible economically" - was the correct concept for guiding work in the region.

On 2nd December, a Tibet Daily commentary said that the regional Party Committee was completely confident and capable of leading people of all nationalities in Tibet. The article said that the regional Committee had implemented the central authorities' line, principles and policies and had maintained the initiative in the work in Tibet (SWB 19th January 1998).

The Extension of Patriotic Education

The announcement that patriotic education, carried out for the previous year and a half in monasteries in the TAR, would be extended to the lay community was delayed until December, nearly a month after the Third Plenary, when Jampa Kelden, head of the nationalities affairs commission, made a statement to the press. However, this development had been signalled by remarks in the Third Plenary, and it appears to have been one of the decisions reached at the meeting.

Bai Zhao, president of the TAR Higher Court, and Nimachiren (Nyima Tsering), head of the TAR's mission in Beijing and newly appointed to the post of assistant chairman of the TAR, spoke at the Plenary of the "necessity of conducting extensive education on patriotism in society". Their comments, made at a discussion meeting on the 19th November, were reported by the Tibet Daily the following day. Patriotic education in society (rather than in monasteries alone) would be one of the "forceful measures" needed to resist the Dalai clique's ideological, political and social infiltration, said the two officials, and would lead to the ultimate elimination of the hidden danger to Tibet's long term stability.

Spiritual Civilisation

The national campaign to construct "spiritual civilisation" was used in the Plenary to attack ideas, including that of "the ghost of religion and feudal serfdom", which were regarded as being in opposition to progress. In particular, the speakers at the meeting attacked those who maintained that conditions in Tibet are different from those in China. This view had been put forward by Tibetans and Chinese reformers in the 1980s, allowing them to argue for Tibetans to have a special role in the economy and administration in the region.

17th November

It is necessary to combine destruction with construction in intensifying the building of spiritual civilisation, according to a Tibet Daily article. The article said: "We must destroy decadent, reactionary, backward ideas and customs, which tram-mel people's thinking and hinder social progress, and must promote socialist ideas, morality, sentiments, civilised lifestyle for building socialist culture with Chinese characteristics and facilitating the healthy development of the region" (SWB 8th December).

3rd December

One important reason why Tibet is backward in economic and social development, in comparison with other parts of China, is that Tibet has "backward ideas, understanding and concepts", according to the second of the series of seven Tibet Daily commentator articles. Outdated ideas take many forms, including "closed-mindedness, conservativeness [sic], satisfaction with the status quo, a wait and see attitude, reluctance to make progress and accept new things, and the damaging idea that Tibet is unique", said the article (SWB 20th January 1998).

15th December

One of the most important reasons why Tibet lags behind the rest of China, in the building of material civilisation and in development, are that Tibet has not "shaped a social environment favourable for development, and [has] not correctly solved problems existing in the spiritual sphere," according to the sixth in the series of seven Tibet Daily commentator's articles. The article said that there were "signs of resurgence of narrow minded-nationalism; the ghost of remnants of religion and feudal serfdom still haunts our region; outmoded conventions and bad customs have revived ... The sphere of spiritual civilisation has become the main theatre of the struggle between us and the Dalai clique".

Press Reports on the Third Plenary

The BBC Monitoring Service noted reports on the four-day Third Plenary carried by the Tibet Daily, Tibet TV and Tibet Radio. The Tibet Daily's reporting of the meeting was the most extensive, with a total of eight articles monitored by the BBC. Tibet TV broadcast at least three reports of the Plenary and Tibet Radio (the Tibet People's Broadcasting Station) put out a report on the 20th November. In addition, the Tibet Daily published a series of seven commentator articles on studying and implementing the "spirit" of the Third Plenary session, between the 2nd and the 17th December.

Extracts of Ragdi's speech were reported by Tibet TV on the 17th (SWB 22nd November 1997) and 26th November (SWB 29th November 1997), and by the Tibet Daily on the 18th (SWB 8th December 1997) and 19th November (SWB 15th December 1997). Gyalsan Norbu's comments in discussions with the Shigatse group of delegates to the Third Plenary, on 18th November, were reported by both the Tibet Daily and Tibet TV on 19th November. Buqiong's speech to the plenary meeting on 20th November was reported by the Tibet Daily on 26th November and extracts were reported by Tibet Radio on 20th November (SWB 22nd December, 27th November). Gyalsan Norbu's summing up speech to the closing session on 20th November was reported on 25th November by the Tibet Daily (SWB 31st December).

The Chinese Press on Other Political Events

Summaries of selected articles from the Chinese press concerning other political developments and meetings in the TAR during 1997. The date at the head of each item shows when the article was published or broadcast in China; the date in brackets at the end of each item indicates when the article was published in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts.

4th March

Buqlong [Buchung], secretary of the TAR Discipline Inspection Commission, delivered the committee's work report, pointing out the general requirements of the year's anti-corruption work, improving party work style and maintaining clean and honest government, according to Tibet TV. Guo Jinlong, executive deputy secretary of the TAR party committee, also addressed the meeting, which was chaired by Qujia [Choegyal?], deputy secretary of the TAR Discipline Inspection Committee (SWB 11th March).

14th March

Chen Kuiyuan, TAR Party Secretary, addressed the fifth session of the Eighth National People's Congress, according to a Tibet Daily report on 16th March. Chen set out the main points that needed to be grasped in order to carry out work in Tibet. These were Tibet's eco-

nomie development, safeguarding social and economic stability, and reforming enterprises and further improving Party organisations in state enterprises. Gyalcan Norbu, Yang Chuantang and Lobsang Toinzhub addressed the session on agricultural and animal husbandry development, helping the poor, and agricultural and animal husbandry production in Tibet. Ragdi also spoke at the session (SWB 5th March, 24th March).

23rd May

The fifth session of the Sixth TAR People's Congress, which had opened on 15th May, closed on 23rd May. The congress passed the government Work Report Resolution, various other resolutions dealing with the TAR's economy and finance and the TAR's People's High Court Work Report Resolution, according to a Tibet Daily report on 24th May (SWB 7th July).

29th September

The TAR Party Committee convened an enlarged session of its standing committee on the 29th September to study and implement the spirit of the 15th Party Congress, according to Tibet TV. Chen Kuiyuan, secretary of the TAR Party Committee, presided over the meeting (SWB 17th October).

6th October

Guo Jinlong, executive deputy secretary of the TAR Party committee, spoke of the practical significance and the historical influence of the 15th Party Congress at a rally convened to transmit and study the spirit of the Congress. Guo said that although Tibet had made outstanding economic and social developments since the 14th Congress, further progress was being hampered by the fact that some people were harbouring backward ideology and concepts (SWB 8th October).

7. Development & Economy

Summary

The efforts to promote the economic opening up of Tibet continued during 1997. A two-day experience-exchange meeting on economic assistance to Tibet was held in Beijing in April and attended by representatives from 35 provinces and cities and from over 40 central and state departments and mass organisations. After the 15th Party Congress in October, public rhetoric in Tibet shifted to encouragement of the private sector. This was used by Tibetan leaders as an opportunity to place greater emphasis on encouraging further Chinese involvement in the Tibetan economy.

Infrastructure development continued to have high priority and the 1997 government work report called again for preparations for building a railway into Tibet. It also called for the acceleration of construction of hydro-electric projects at Yamdrok Yumtso, Menlha and Woka, which would increase power supply in the region by about 50%. The Yamdrok Yumtso project was reported to have finally started producing power in September.

Xinhua reported in October that potential oilfields in the Changtang (the Northern Plateau) in Northern Tibet comprised the "last and largest oil belt" in an

inland area. Advanced preparations for full-scale development of a large copper mine in Chamdo were also announced.

In December, the European Union suspended its £6m development project in Panam county near Shigatse, after a British newspaper reported that the Chinese authorities had forced a British educationalist based in Lhasa and due to start work on the Panam project to leave the country. (On 19 February 1998, it was reported that the Chinese authorities had agreed to allow the aid worker to return to Tibet: no reason was given for the seven month refusal of the visa.)

1997 Plans for TAR: Agriculture, Industry and Re-education

TIN News Update/18 July, 1997

Policy in the Tibet Autonomous Region during 1997 will continue to focus on economic construction, particularly in the agricultural areas, and the region aims to achieve 10% growth in the economy for the fourth successive year, according to its annual work report,

copies of which reached London last week.

The region plans to accelerate the development of the five "pillar" industries, which include mining, forestry, tourism and building. Incidental objectives include ending the social service role

of state enterprises, attracting private entrepreneurs from outside Tibet, and continuing to plan to build a railway into central Tibet. The re-education of monks and nuns is to continue after last year's "experiment", on the grounds that they are a hindrance to social stability, along with

the re-organisation of monasteries and the halting of unauthorised building of temples.

The report, which said that the region's output had gone up by 10% last year, noted that the grain yield had increased by 7.9% to 770,000 tonnes. A much greater increase was recorded in the towns, where the average urban income rose by over 25% to reach 5,030 yuan [\$600] per person.

This makes urban residents of Lhasa wealthier on average than town dwellers in China, where the average income last year was only 4,300 yuan [\$518]. It also means that urban incomes in the TAR are already 16% over the target set for the year 2,000 in the 9th Five Year Plan, which was published only last year.

Urban incomes are now over five times the size of rural incomes, and growing at twice the rate. Rural incomes increased by 11% last year but still reached only 975 yuan [\$117] per person, half the average rural income in China, and a strong indication of a rapidly growing gulf between the towns and the countryside in Tibet.

Industrial output rose by 10.4% to represent a sixth of the TAR's GDP, a 19% increase in its share of the economy. Price rises were kept down during 1996, but the report gave no figures for unemployment or inflation last year.

Economic Plans: Strengthen Agriculture

The region will continue to make economic construction its "central task" this year, according to the report, which has set a target for economic growth of 10 per cent in 1997, as required by the current regional five-year plan. Total grain output, however, is expected to reach 820,000 tonnes by the end of the year, an increase of 5.5%. Development will focus firstly on strengthening agriculture, which is described as "the foundation of the economy", but much of the growth is expected to come in the industrial sector. The report, which was published in the Tibetan papers on 29th May, was issued in translation by the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts in June.

"Governments at various levels should unswervingly give first priority to agriculture in economic work," says the report, which says Tibet's target is to become self-sufficient in grain, oil and meat. The government plans to continue to increase investment in agriculture, to encourage "water conservancy" - irrigation and dam construction by farmers - to improve technical skills, and to introduce high yield seed. There are fewer than usual references to the pastoral economy. However,

the number of animals owned by herders is to be controlled and the slaughter rate increased, according to the TAR authorities, who regard excessive herd size as the main cause of economic sluggishness and of grassland degradation on the Tibetan plateau.

Much of the region's development strategy is directed at finding ways to deal with loss-making state-owned companies, for instance by selling shares and trading on the stock market or by merging loss-making enterprises with more successful businesses to form a "mechanism for the survival of the fittest".

"Individual enterprises with poor management and backward technical equipment that cannot turn out marketable goods and whose assets cannot cover their debts should be declared bankrupt on a trial basis," states the government work report. This report notes that initial improvement of these moribund state enterprises should take place mainly in Lhasa, where 60% of the total capital of all state-owned enterprises in the region is located.

As in China, the state-owned enterprises are told to rid themselves of their social service functions and to "make arrangements for the diversion of the enterprises' redundant personnel". The move will increase unemployment in the region, as in China, and the Tibet Government plans to "gradually establish a social security system suited to the socialist market economic structure" based on insurance payments to cover old-age, unemployment, and medical needs. The report makes no commitment to provide free medical care or education, effectively disbanded in China.

Industries: Five Pillars

"The main direction of economic work" in the TAR is accelerating the development of "five pillar industries" - mining, forestry, agricultural and livestock by-products and handicrafts, tourism, and building. The five industries are planned to turn out products "on a large scale as soon as possible".

The focus of industrialisation in Tibet is on developing mining. "We should do a good job in building and managing major mines, liberalise and invigorate small ones [and] accelerate the prospecting of mineral resources," says the report, which notes that the region produced 112,000 tonnes of chrome ore last year.

Processing of minerals and of timber will be encouraged within the region, instead of transporting ores and uncut logs to processing plants outside the region, and "a co-ordinated industrial network for

the growing of forests" will be developed, together with measures for the protection of forest reserves. Last year the region made 87.74m yuan [\$10.57 million] from forestry, an increase of 7.6% over 1995.

The development of the five industries depends on attracting "private entrepreneurs from outside Tibet to set up industries in our region and give full play to their role in invigorating the circulation of commodities in urban and rural areas and enriching the lives of the masses," a policy which will fuel allegations by Tibetans that the Chinese government is encouraging Chinese traders to move into the area and dominate the economy.

The 1997 strategy also calls for the acceleration of the construction of hydro-electric projects at Yamdrok Tso, Menlha and Woka, to bring installed capacity up to at least 30,000 kW, an increase in power supply of around 50%. "We should make full preparations for building a railway into Tibet", says the report, for the second year running. The railway project was abandoned in 1987 because of the cost, but was revived on paper in 1994 at an initial cost of 20 billion yuan [\$2.4 billion].

As in previous years, the report listed a number of factors or "contradictions" which impede Tibet's development. These include the lack of an industrial foundation, the weakness of the agricultural sector, the inefficiency of state-owned enterprises, excessive bureaucracy and the slow growth of government revenue. The pressures of unemployment and dealing with acute poverty were described as "tremendous", but price rises, cited as a major difficulty in 1995, were not listed as a problem.

The Guiding Thought: Attack Splittism

The list of problems facing the economy in Tibet included, as in previous government reports, the "separatist activities of the Dalai clique aided by Western hostile forces", said to have increased during the year. The campaign against separatism, described as "the important guiding thought for efficiently carrying out this year's tasks", is to be intensified during 1997, according to the work report.

"We should enable the people across the region really to understand the Dalai's political reaction and religious hypocrisy," states the report, which devotes three sections to the need to carry out patriotic and ideological education, particularly in monasteries. "We should further strengthen the patriotic education of monks and nuns so they will love the country", says the report, adding that

monasteries must be reorganised to "firmly stop the practices of wantonly building temples and lamaseries" and "indiscriminately taking in people as Buddhist monks or nuns".

In a statement which could be an important ideological re-assertion, policy towards non-Chinese peoples and cultures is defined as subsidiary to economic objectives. "Nationality work should be persistently done around the central task of economic construction", says the formulation, which is not used either in last year's five year plan on which this report is based or in the published documents of the 1994 Third Forum which established current policies. The formula covers religious policy and is used in the report to explain the need for re-organisation and re-education in monasteries.

The report does, however, repeat instructions in previous annual reports that attention should be paid to the study of Tibetan language and that rules relating to the use of Tibetan language should be implemented "to the letter".

Investment From The Hinterland

Tibet's economy last year attracted substantial subsidies, equivalent to at least

half the value of its output. These subsidies came from Chinese provinces as well as from the centre.

"Departments and commissions under the Party Central Committee and the State Council, together with 14 provinces and municipalities in support of Tibet, attach great importance to their work of assisting Tibet, and they started an unprecedented upsurge of aid to the region," stated the report.

The policy of getting inland provinces to invest in Tibetan infrastructure was laid down by the Third Work Forum three years ago and led to some 150 teams of experts being sent to the TAR by provinces and ministries to prepare proposals for investment. Since the forum met, 6,688 "co-operation projects" have been carried out costing 877 million yuan [\$105 million], much of it from the 14 inland provinces, according to the report.

The projects started by the 14 inland provinces are 10-year plans, which include mobilising "personnel from their departments and commissions to provide all-round aid for the region". 658 cadres from Chinese provinces were sent to work in the TAR during 1996, according to the report, compared to the 500 sent in the

previous year.

56 of the 62 large-scale infrastructure projects initiated at the time of the Third Forum in 1994 have been completed at a cost of 3.67 billion yuan [\$440 million]. "Most of such projects were excellent ones," notes the report, suggesting that some may have failed.

The policy of inland investment in the TAR is part of a larger plan announced at the Third Forum in 1994 to end Tibet's tendency of separate development in the early 1980s. The economic reforms in Tibet are to be carried out "according to the principle of consistency with the framework of the country and linking up with the economic structure in other parts of the country", stated the report, emphasising the attempt to integrate the Tibetan economy within the larger Chinese economy.

"The concept that 'the people of Han nationality cannot do without those of minority nationalities, neither can the latter do without the former' struck root in the hearts of the people, and a new chapter on national unity was added to history," reported Gyaltzen Norbu, governor of the region, who delivered the report to the regional People's Congress on 15th May.

Foreign Aid Worker Forced Out, EU Project under Scrutiny

TIN News Update/15 December, 1997

The Chinese authorities have forced one of the most experienced foreign aid workers in Tibet to leave the country, and two other long-term European aid workers in the region are now known to have had their permits refused for a period earlier this year.

The difficulties faced by the foreign aid workers, for which Chinese officials gave no reasons, raise problems for the European Union, which was due to sign a major agreement this month giving China 7.6 million ecus (6 million pounds) for a controversial development project in Tibet.

European governments funding the aid projects in Tibet appeared tonight to have been unaware of the restrictions on the aid workers and are apparently still considering their positions on the issue after the news was published this morning in an British newspaper, the Independent. A senior member of the European Parliament called this evening for the EU project to be put on hold until the Chinese reverse their decision.

A spokesman for the EU's directorate of Foreign Relations in Brussels said today

that he did not know about the EU project. European Union representatives in Beijing last week did not reply to requests for information about the visa problems in Tibet, or about the current status of the EU project.

The London-based Save the Children Fund (SCF), which has been operating educational and environmental projects in rural Tibet for six years, confirmed that a permit had been refused in July for their only expatriate representative, a 30 year old education advisor who has been working in Tibet for the last three years.

"We are really sad that our education advisor will not be continuing to work with the project, but she has worked with a team to set up a project which our Tibetan staff will be implementing," an SCF spokesman told The Independent yesterday, asking that the woman not be named. Apart from one week in November the SCF project has been without its advisor for the last five months, but SCF plans to continue the project despite the unexplained setback.

Two senior members of the health team operated in Tibet by Medecins sans

Frontieres Belgium (MSF) are now known to have had their permits briefly withdrawn in June this year. Chinese officials are said to have commented that the two experts had been in Tibet too long. The two were later granted partial access to the region after senior MSF officials flew to Lhasa to discuss the issue.

European Governments Consider Facts

Britain's Department for International Development said today that it has helped fund SCF's village education project in Tibet since April 1996. "We were told by SCF when we started to fund their project that it was to last for six years," said a spokeswoman, who would give no further comment until tomorrow. The British Foreign Office said it would "see what facts were available and act as necessary", according to a spokesman.

Norway's Foreign Ministry, which is believed to contribute at least £50,000 a year to the SCF and MSF projects, today said it would not comment until it was "fully aware of the facts", implying that it did not know of the restrictions faced by

the projects' staff.

The situation could embarrass Norway's Secretary of State, Janne Haaland Matlary, who last week received a Tibetan delegation led by the Chairman of the Tibet Autonomous Region on a visit to Oslo. The delegation included Wang Jiayu, deputy director of the Tibet region's Department of Foreign Trade and Economic Co-operation. Mr Wang's Department has immediate responsibility for the de facto expulsion of the SCF expert as well as for implementation of the EU project due to be signed this month.

The EU project was designed in 1994 to improve irrigation and social infrastructure in Panam, a county 200 km south west of Lhasa, and at the time was the most costly EU deal of its kind with China. It was suspended in January 1995 following criticism from Parliamentarians and pro-Tibet groups that it was badly designed, that it risked encouraging Chinese migration into Tibet, and that it had been planned without adequate con-

sultation.

In May 1995 the European Parliament passed a resolution calling on the Commission to ensure that future proposals relating to Tibet would be "the subject of a full and open consultation process", and urged it to channel development aid towards non-government organisations engaged in small projects.

Sir Leon Brittan said in January this year that further design of the project would be carried out "in an open and transparent manner", and that the involvement of MSF and SCF would be "enshrined in the implementation of the project", according to a statement issued tonight by the Welsh MEP, Glenys Kinnock.

The final version of the EU's re-appraised implementation document, due to be signed this month, has not been made public, but it is believed to specify that foreign NGOs with local expertise will be "favourably considered" to implement the education and health components of the Panam project.

SCF said that it could not now take part in the project. "Panam was something that we were looking at, [but] without this education advisor in post, we would not have the capacity to go ahead," said their spokeswoman yesterday. MSF has now also announced that it will not take part in the EU project, on the grounds that it prefers to work in poorer areas.

Mrs Kinnock today called upon the EC to "put the project on hold until such time as the involvement of NGOs in its implementation is clearly secured".

"The Parliament has always been categorical that NGOs must be involved in Panam", she said in a statement issued tonight. "We must have independent people on the ground who can ensure that it is the Tibetan people who benefit from this project ... If these reports are correct, it seems that the Chinese authorities will simply not let this happen," she said in a statement released this evening. "Either the Chinese relent, or the EU steps back and looks again at the project," said Mrs Kinnock.

EU Suspends Tibet Project

TIN News Update/18 December, 1997 v2

The European Union yesterday suspended a six million pound development project in Tibet after a British newspaper reported that the Chinese authorities had forced the only experienced British aid worker in Tibet to end their work on rural education and to leave the country.

A spokesman for Sir Leon Brittan, Vice-President of the European Union (EU), announced yesterday that Sir Leon had postponed all activity relating to the EU project until the situation has been clarified. He described the news as "a bombshell".

For the last five months the Save the Children Fund, a British non-governmental organisation (NGO), has been denied permission for its education expert, its only western representative in Tibet, to continue work on the project, the British newspaper the Independent disclosed on Monday.

The Chinese authorities had given no explanation for the de facto expulsion despite repeated requests from the NGO, which has been running projects in Lhasa since 1991, according to the newspaper.

The EU had intended to include the British expert and her team in a planned rural development project in Panam county, 200 km south-west of Lhasa, a five year operation for which the EU is offer-

ing to pay 5.89 million pounds towards the improvement of irrigation, health and education in the area.

The final funding agreement for the Panam project, already delayed for three years by earlier controversies, had been due to be signed by the EU and China within the next ten days.

"Sir Leon's reaction to the report was quite straightforward," said Nick Clegg, Brittan's political advisor. "He is firmly of the opinion that NGO involvement is a crucial element of the project, and he has now frozen all administrative and political proceedings until we know exactly what is going on," Clegg told TIN.

Sir Leon's department had been unaware of the problems faced by the SCF team, according to Mr Clegg. "The news on Monday was a bombshell to us," he said.

But Fokioan Fotiadis, the head of the EU's China unit, said yesterday that his department had been aware of the permit denial for the SCF advisor for between two and four weeks.

"Sir Leon is now trying to find out precisely what is going on from Beijing," said Clegg. "We need to find out whether the issue is based on instructions from Beijing, whether it is an administrative glitch or whether it is systematic harassment," he added. "As far as we were con-

cerned, the Chinese had agreed to our conditions for Panam and were ready to sign," he commented.

Norway "Concerned"

One of the two governments funding the SCF project confirmed yesterday that it had been unaware that the main advisor on the project had not been allowed to work in Tibet since July, apart from a week in November when she was allowed to collect her belongings. The advisor, a 30-year old British woman, had worked in Lhasa for the last three years.

"It is a cause of concern for us and we will look into the issue," said Per Stavnum, director of the Asia section in the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, which gives 50,000 pounds a year to the SCF project in Tibet through the Norwegian children's organisation, Redd Barna. Last week the Ministry received a delegation of top leaders from the Tibet Autonomous Region, including a senior official from the region's Department of Foreign Trade and Economic Co-operation, which is responsible for the SCF permit refusal and for implementing the Panam project.

The British Government, which is one of the funders of the SCF project in Tibet, said that it was assessing the information available. "As we understand it, work is continuing on the project with local staff,"

a spokeswoman for the Department for International Development told TIN yesterday.

The Chinese Embassy in London said yesterday that it had read the Independent's report, but said that it had been unable to find out any further information from Beijing because the SCF aid worker was not named in the article.

SCF "Still Considering" Panam Project

A spokesman for SCF in London said that the permit refusal would affect its decision as to whether to take part in the planned Panam project.

"We cannot go ahead without our education advisor in place", he said. But he added that SCF would be open to considering involvement in the project if the decision was reversed. SCF was still waiting to receive a copy of the EU's final agreement with China on the Panam project, he noted.

Western NGOs became central to the

Panam project in 1995 when Brittan promised to include them as a measure to allay criticism of the original version of the project. The European Parliament and others had complained that the original proposal had lacked guarantees that the scheme would benefit Tibetans or that it would not lead to increased Chinese migration into the region.

In January this year, the Chinese authorities reportedly rejected a draft of the agreement which said NGOs with Tibet experience would be included in the project. But later that month Leon Brittan assured the European Parliament that the involvement of the NGOs would be "enshrined in the implementation of the project", according to a statement yesterday by Glenys Kinnock, a member of the Parliament.

The final agreement hammered out by EU officials is reported to specify Tibetans as the principal beneficiaries, instead of the term "local people" proposed earlier by the

Chinese side, and to have said that the participation of NGOs with relevant local experience would be "favourably considered".

The last published budget for the Panam Project, drawn up for the EU in September 1995, said the EU would contribute 7.6 million ECUs, with the largest share - around 24% - allocated to project co-ordination and monitoring, and 19% to the health and education sub-projects which would include NGOs. 9% of the budget was allocated to sending Tibetans on training courses outside the area. The rest would go on irrigation, veterinary work, agricultural training and drinking water supply.

A mid-term assessment mission was built in to the scheme, with the allocation for foreign experts increased from 166 to 237 "person months" over five years, representing just over half the budget at around 16,000 ECU (£12,400 or \$19,800) per person per month.

Update: Aid Worker Visa Issued

Update 19 February 1998

On 19th February 1998 journalists in Beijing covering the visit of EC Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan reported that the Chinese authorities had agreed to allow the SCF Education Adviser

to return to Tibet. An SCF spokeswoman confirmed that a message had been received from Lhasa saying that a visa was due to be issued.

No reason has been given for the seven-

month refusal of the visa, now assumed to have been a local decision since overruled by Beijing. The development is expected to make it possible for the EC to end the suspension of the Panam project.

Chinese Press on the Economy

Summaries of selected articles from the Chinese press concerning economic issues in Tibet. The date at the head of each item shows when the article was published or broadcast in China; the date in brackets at the end of each item indicates when the article was published in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts. The dates refer to the year 1997 unless otherwise stated. Currency equivalents have been estimated at 8 yuan to US \$1. Note that the term Tibet is used, in Chinese publications and in these summaries, to refer only to the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR).

The Economy: Highlights

In 1996 the gross domestic product (GDP) of the TAR exceeded the national average for the first time, reaching 6.452bn yuan (\$806.5m), an increase of 10% over 1995. Other Xinhua reports put the 1996 figure at 6.543bn yuan (\$817.87m). At the same time, it was said that retail prices had dropped by 8% (Zhongguo Xinwen She, 12 April). The Tibetan economy had grown at 10% or more for four consecutive years.

As early as May, officials were projecting that the GDP for 1997 would be 7.35bn yuan (\$918.75m), a 10% growth rate. This figure was still being given in December, and was confirmed as achieved a month later. Xinhua reported on 6 September that Tibet is likely to have a revenue income of 600m yuan (\$75m) in the year 2000, more than double the 1995 figure.

In Qinghai, growth continued at around 8% in 1996, after adjustment for price changes, with GDP reaching 16.6bn yuan (\$2.06bn) in 1995 and 18.32bn yuan (\$2.29bn) in 1996, thanks to irrigation projects, hydro-electric power stations, and other development projects. In 1997, GDP grew by 9% overall, with industrial output increasing by 10.84% and the building industry by 20.6%.

At the end of 1997, it was announced that 14% of the population of the TAR was now living in urban areas. The average

income of Tibetan farmers and herders had reached 1,040 yuan (\$130) by the end of 1997, up 6.7% from 1996. (The increase in 1996 had been 9.3% over 1995.) The per capita income of urban residents in the TAR tripled between 1990 and 1996, when it overtook the national average for town-dwellers in China; in 1997 it reached 5,130 yuan (\$641), a rise of less than 2% over 1996. In Qinghai province, farmers' average income reached 1,320 yuan (\$165) per capita in 1997, a 12.5% increase over the previous year.

News reports from the TAR during 1997 have focused on investment in infrastructure (especially agriculture), on foreign investment and on the development of private businesses. In investment, for example, the state planned to contribute more than 2.9bn yuan (\$362.5m) to infrastructure development during 1997. Priority was to be given to construction in agricultural and pastoral areas, according to a Xinhua report of 18th March; financial and technological input for those areas during 1996 amounted to 300m yuan, an increase of 13.5m yuan over 1995. Development in agricultural and pastoral areas yielded revenue of \$7.1m in 1996.

After the 15th Party Congress, press attention was shifted to encouragement of the private sector. The TAR had more than 180 private businesses, said a Xinhua article in October, and more than 200, according to the agency in December. These private businesses were contributing about 60m yuan in taxes per year, more than the sum paid by state enterprises. Private businesses accounted for 42% of total retail sales, and 45% of the region's total revenues. There are 39,000 self-employed people in the TAR, compared to fewer than 500 in 1980. Qinghai had 2,349 private enterprises by the end of 1997.

In the first six months of 1997, foreign investment in the TAR amounted to \$236.29m, compared with \$9.16m during 1996, according to Xinhua on 17th August. 138 companies were involved in border trade with Tibet, with deals totalling 500m yuan over the past five years and with six new trading posts in the TAR opened to border trade. In January the Tibet Daily announced that the total import and export volume had reached \$116.48m in 1996, a 65.2% increase over the previous year, although in March Xinhua said that the total had been \$104.7143m, an increase of 48.49%. Exports to Nepal were said to account for more than 90% of Tibet's exports, according to Xinhua on 15th September, but no detail was given of the breakdown between imports and exports.

Economic policy was presented as one of the keys to political strategy in the region. Tibet's economy was not "a mere economic issue, but a great political issue that has a vital bearing on Tibet's social stability and progress", according to Li Ruihuan on 16th April. He added that the focus on rapid economic development was starting to have notable results.

Economic Indicators

2nd February

Tibetan farmers and herders earned an average income of 960 yuan (\$120) in 1996, up 9.3% over 1995, reported Xinhua news agency. The total output of meat in the region reached 112,000 tons (compared to 110,000 tons in 1995), with wool output at 8,600 tons (SWB 5th February).

13th March

The GDP of the TAR maintained a growth rate of more than 10% for the second consecutive year and reached 6.543 bn yuan (\$817.87m) in 1996, reported Xinhua. The report also stated that 56 out of 62 projects to encourage development have improved Tibet's "backward" infrastructure and "promoted social progress". The 62 projects have also increased total annual electrical energy production by 206m kilowatt-hour, have increased Tibet's telephone exchange capacity by 20,000 lines, and have increased the capacity of daily water supply by 16,000 tons in the cities (SWB 15th March).

15th March

In 1996 textile industries generated

a total output value of 276m yuan (\$34.5m), up 12.5% on the previous year, reported Xinhua. The Council of Light, Textile and Handicraft Industries of the TAR was officially established in Lhasa on 15th March to speed up economic reform (SWB 19th March).

12th April

Tibet's economic development during 1996 surpassed the national average for the first time, with a GDP of 6.452bn yuan (\$806.5m), an increase of 10% over the previous year, stated Zhongguo Xinwen She. The energy sector expanded rapidly, with an increase in power generation capacity of 11%, and retail prices dropped by 8%. A carpet factory and power station have been established and two public companies obtained listing on the stock exchange (SWB 14th April).

16th May

The expected GDP for the TAR for 1997 is 7.35bn yuan (\$918.75m), an increase of 10% over 1996, reported Zhongguo Xinwen She (SWB 20th May).

26th May

Per capita income of urban residents in the TAR increased in 1996 to 5,036 yuan (\$629), almost three times the figure for 1990, according to Xinhua. A survey by the regional government of economic and social conditions in the region found that in larger cities there were 98 colour TV sets and 35 sewing machines for every 100 households (SWB 28th May).

1st June

32 kinds of minerals with industrial potential have been discovered by geologists in Tibet, according to Xinhua. The report stated that there are 5 million tons of proven chromite reserves, 8.7 million tons of proven copper reserves and over 30 million tons of boron reserves in Tibet, as well as several other mid-sized deposits (SWB 3rd June).

1st August

Preparations for the full-scale development of a recently discovered copper reserve in Qamdo [Chamdo] are proceeding smoothly, according to a recent issue of the "Science and Technology Daily" (reported by Xinhua). The

Yulong Copper Mine has proven reserves of 6.5 million tons and the first phase of development is targeting 515,000 tons (SWB 2nd August).

1st August

In its plans for the initial stage of development of a mine containing 7.14 million tons of copper in Chamdo prefecture [presumably the Yulong mine mentioned above], Tibet plans to invest 1.2 billion yuan (\$150m) on exploitation of 0.5 million tons of copper. The construction of the mine will be "a pillar for the Tibetan economy", said Gyamco (Gyatso), vice-chairman of the TAR People's Government (SWB 5th August).

5th September

"Tibet is now experiencing the best period in history", Gyalcan Norbu [Gyaltsen Norbu] said during the visit to Tibet of Ji Yunshi, vice-governor of Jiangsu province. Commenting on the role of Chinese provincial aid to Tibet, he said that officials from other parts of China who have helped with the local economy are the "fresh blood" of the region's development, and that "development cannot be achieved without their assistance." According to the Xinhua report, Tibet's GDP was 6.5 billion yuan (\$812,500) last year, with a growth rate outpacing the nation's average for the first time (SWB 6th September).

26th September

Infrastructure and production projects in Lhasa are to receive 12.97 million yuan (\$1.62) from the Beijing municipal government. According to an article in the Beijing Daily (reported by Xinhua), the money is to be used for building the Lhasa-Beijing Middle School, the second-phase construction of Longwangtan Park, vegetable greenhouses and other projects. Municipal party and government officials and some cadres from Beijing

will be sent to help with the work in Lhasa next year (SWB 27th September).

15th October

Xinhua reported that potential oilfields have been mapped by the Ministry of Geology and Mineral Resources and the China National Petroleum Corporation in the Qiangtang [Changtang] Basin in Northern Tibet. The geological strata are similar to oilfields in the Persian Gulf and the Karakorum in Central Asia. The report stated that Tibet is "the last and largest oil belt on the continents", and Professor Liu Tianyou of China Geology University said they are "confident that Tibet will become an oil reserve base in the 21st century" (SWB 18th October).

15th November

Tibet has achieved a double-digit growth rate in its GNP for four consecutive years, which exceeds the annual national growth rate, said Yang Chuantang, deputy secretary of the CCP Standing Committee of the TAR, according to Xinhua (SWB 19th November).

25th November

The Jiagang Hydro-Electric Power Plant in Xainza [Shentsa] county in the TAR has gone into operation, bringing to an end the lack of electricity in the county. The Xinhua report said that the plant is one of 62 Chinese government sponsored projects in the TAR (SWB 26th November).

4th December

The TAR's 1997 GDP is expected to reach \$885m, and 60 of 62 key projects carried out with assistance from Chinese provinces have been successful, according to Ragdi (chairman of the TAR People's Congress and the executive deputy secretary of the Party), quoted by Xinhua (SWB 5th December).

7th January 1998

Tax revenues in the TAR reached an all-time high of 470m yuan (\$58.75m) in 1997, an increase of 25% on the previous year, reported Xinhua. The regional tax income is expected to reach 600m yuan (\$75m) by the year 2000, following efforts by the TAR to bring its taxation system in line with the rest of China. Five major cities in the region have established a computer network for tax collection and administration (SWB 10th January 1998).

2nd February 1998

Xinhua reported that the average per capita income for urban residents in the TAR was 5,130 yuan (\$641), which had exceeded the nation's average for the first time. The report also stated that the average per capita income of peasants and herdsmen in Tibet last year was 1,040 yuan (\$130), up 6.7% from the previous year. Peasants and herdsmen constitute more than 80% of the total Tibetan population (In January, a Xinhua report had said that 14% of the population live in urban areas), while the output value of agriculture and animal husbandry in the region constitutes 80% or more of the total GNP. The region continued to intensify the construction of "shopping basket" projects in cities and towns including Lhasa and Shigatse; vegetables grown in Lhasa made up 90% of the city's total supply. Previously, the city had relied upon vegetables shipped in from other Chinese provinces (SWB 6th February 1998).

6th February 1998

The TAR economy grew at a faster rate than China's average last year (1997), with a GDP of 7.35bn yuan (\$918.75m), an increase of 10% over the previous year, reported Xinhua (SWB 9th February 1998).

Economic Indicators: Sichuan, Qinghai

11th April

The average annual per capita income of farmers in the Dalai Lama's home village of Dalncal [Taktser in Tibetan] in Ping'an County, Qinghai province, was more than 10 times higher in 1996 than 20 years before, reported Xinhua. An airport had been built 40 km from the village, business was

brisk among the farmers and residents were planning to open a mineral water company, the report said (SWB 16th April).

21st May

The GDP of Qinghai has risen from 1.55bn yuan (\$193.75m) in 1978 to 18.32bn yuan (\$2.29bn) in 1996, thanks

to irrigation projects, hydro-electric power stations, and other development projects, according to Xinhua (SWB 28th May).

6th August

Sichuan's GDP is expected to grow by 9.1% up to the year 2000 and annual incomes of farmers and herdsmen will

reach 1,060 yuan (\$132.5), reported Xinhua (SWB 7th August).

3rd September

In the first half of the year, 73 Sichuan electronics, food and pharmaceutical enterprises earned 1.69bn yuan (211.25m) in profits, up 54% on the same period in 1996, reported Xinhua (SWB 27th August).

17th December

Three reservoirs with a combined capacity of 7.95 million cu. m. are to be built in 3 counties in Qinghai province as part of a comprehensive agricultural project funded by the World Food Programme. The US\$5 million project will also include the digging of a water channel 145 km in length, the irrigation of 3,454 ha of farmland, preliminary education for 25,000 illiterates, technical training for 170,000 local people and the schooling of 2000 drop-outs. According to the Xinhua report, the project will benefit 262,000 people in

Pingan [Tsongkha Khar], Xunhua [Dow] and Hualong [Bayan Khar] counties (SWB 22nd December).

19th December

Plans for economic reform in Qinghai's industrial sector aim to tackle the debts of 63.5% of state-owned industrial enterprises and to improve currently inferior products produced in the region, reported Xinhua. The provincial authorities are planning to give more support to the electric power, petroleum, salt, chemicals, and non-ferrous metal industries to make full use of Qinghai's resources and to produce better goods (SWB 23rd December).

29th December

Qinghai province has built seven major industrial centres over the past five years, specialising in industries including animal by-products, potash fertiliser, petroleum, electricity and Chinese medicinal herbs, according to Xinhua. Residents of Qinghai were formerly dependent on the grasslands

which cover 96% of the province's land mass. This year the province's industrial output registered an all-time high of 10bn yuan (\$1.25bn), nearly double that of agriculture and animal husbandry (annual yak wool turnover is now 380m yuan (\$47.6m)). Qinghai's seven companies listed on the stock exchange have raised 1.5bn yuan (\$18.8m) (SWB 7th January 1998).

28th January 1998

Qinghai's GDP is expected to have increased by 9% during 1997, and total grain output is estimated at 1.28m tons, up 2.86% over the previous year, according to Xinhua. The per capita net income for farmers is estimated to have reached 1,320 yuan (\$165) during the year, a 12.5% increase over 1996. The province's industrial output is expected to total 11.1bn yuan (\$1.8bn), nearly 11% over the previous year, with the building industry alone increasing its output by 20% (SWB 4th February 1998).

Foreign Trade, Investment, Aid

19th March

Tibet's total import and export volume reached \$104.7143m in 1996, up 48.49% over the previous year, according to Xinhua in the People's Daily on 20th March. Tibet also built up more joint venture products, exported more part-machined and finished industrial products, and developed processing trades, whose volume accounted for 30% of Tibet's total import and export volume in 1996, up 51% on the previous year. In early 1996, the Tibet Foreign Economic and Trade department invited more foreign enterprises to Tibet, approved 18 joint venture enterprises, and invited a total of \$21.87m in foreign capital, the highest amount ever achieved (SWB 11th April).

29th May

Canada has increased funds for small projects in the TAR from 30,000-40,000 yuan (\$3,750-\$5,000) to 200,000-250,000 yuan (\$25,000-\$31,250) per project in 1997. The Canadian ambassador to China visited Tibet to study 15 projects on rural education, public health and water improvement in Lhasa and Shigatse which have been sponsored by the Canadian Ambassadorial Fund (SWB 11th June).

17th August

One hundred foreign companies and individuals had invested a total of \$236.29m in the TAR by July 1997, compared to a total foreign investment of \$9.16m in 1996, according to the TAR's Administration for Industry and Commerce, reported by Xinhua. In the past, overseas funds have mostly come from Macao, Hong Kong, Nepal and other neighbouring countries and regions, but flexible policies adopted by the TAR authorities are now attracting investment from Japan, the United States and Australia. Foreign investors prefer the comparatively developed areas of Lhasa, Shannan [Lhokha] and Shigatse (SWB 18th August).

19th August

138 companies are currently involved in border trade in Tibet, with deals totalling 500m yuan (\$62.5m) over the past five years, according to Xinhua. Major trade items include textiles, light industry, electrical goods, and animal by-products (SWB 27th August).

9th September

The border trading environment has been improved in Tibet, with new roads and six new trading posts,

according to Zhongguo Xinwen She (SWB 15th September).

15th September

The 1997 China-Tibet-Nepal Trade Fair opened in Lhasa, with the aim of expanding border trade for the region and improving local economic development, according to Xinhua. The fair focused on bilateral co-operation for more than ten projects, including the breeding and processing of edible fungi and production of cashmere, garments and nutrients. Tibet's annual exports to Nepal account for more than 90% of the region's foreign trade, with Nepal participating in 28 joint and co-operative projects in Tibet involving total investments of more than 103m yuan (\$12.875m) (SWB 4th November).

23rd October

The TAR authorities have appealed for greater foreign investment in agriculture to develop the region's potential, according to Xinhua. Many private investors from inland provinces have invested in the region, but so far there has been no overseas investment in agricultural development except for a few international donors to carry out integrated development projects (SWB 25th October).

10th December

The Australian government is to pro-

vide 3 million Australian dollars to help improve health services and

drinking water in the TAR, reported Xinhua (SWB 12th December).

Foreign Investment - Sichuan, Qinghai

22nd December

Sichuan province approved 105 foreign-funded projects valued at \$164m during the first half of the year, a year-on-year rise approaching 100%,

reported Xinhua. Basic Industry and Infrastructure projects were the focus of Investments (SWB 24th September).

29th December

Qinghai province has 139 foreign-funded companies (SWB 7th January 1998).

Investment - domestic

2nd February

Financial and technological input in the agricultural sector was increased by an investment of 300m yuan (\$37.5m), up by 13.5m yuan (\$1.6875m) over 1995, according to Xinhua (SWB 5th February).

16th March

The state has invested some 13.1bn yuan (\$1.42875 bn) in fixed assets in the TAR during the 1990s, with 11.43 bn yuan (\$1.6375 bn) of this earmarked for infrastructure, reported Xinhua. More than 2.9bn yuan (\$362.5m) was to go to this sector during 1997. Electricity-generating capacity in the TAR is now 200,000 kW, with 545m kW being generated annually. Key projects have been launched by the TAR for mining gold, iron and coal. The Glory Programme, a project by private businessmen in China to help poorer areas, has agreed to invest 600m yuan (\$75m) in 53 projects in the TAR (SWB 18th March).

16th May

Planned Investments in the development of an infrastructure amount to 2.925bn yuan (\$365.63m), according to Zhongguo Xinwen She. Projects in construction in agricultural and pastoral areas are to take priority. The authorities are also investing in secondary industry, processing of resources and state-owned enterprises, including a leather factory in Lhasa (SWB 20th May).

12th August

Lhasa has been linked with the national

digital mobile telecommunications network since the start of August, following an investment of \$2.45m from the Chinese Ministry of Post and Telecommunications, reported Xinhua. The system adopted switching and transmission equipment made by Sweden's Ericsson Corporation (SWB 20th August).

5th September

The rapid economic development of Tibet is the result of constant assistance from the central government and inland provinces and regions, said Gyalcan [Gyaltsen] Norbu, the TAR Chairman, according to Xinhua. Gyalcan Norbu referred to officials from other parts of China who have helped with the local economy as being the "fresh blood" of the region's development (SWB 6th September).

26th September

Beijing municipal government announced a donation of \$1.56m for infrastructure and production projects in Lhasa, reported Xinhua. Beijing will also set up a cadre training centre in Lhasa and provide easy access for the sale of local products made by Lhasa enterprises in Beijing (SWB 27th September).

15th December

Local products with ethnic characteristics including "Lhasa Beer", "Lhasa Carpets" and "Honjingtian Tonic Tea" are moving into the Chinese market, according to Xinhua. Some Tibetan factories took part in a recent exhibition in Shanghai, and Tibetan busi-

nessmen are confident about participating in the central and eastern markets (SWB 16th December).

22nd December

The TAR will allocate at least \$1.25m annually during the 1996-2000 period for the improvement of grassland and animal breeding and the construction of disaster relief centres, reported Xinhua. Subsidies and rewards will be given to those who have invested in the construction of infrastructure for animal husbandry (SWB 23rd December).

18th January 1998

Urban construction in Tibet has achieved dramatic progress, with 49 of the region's 71 county towns mapping out comprehensive plans on urban construction, said Liu Zhichang, director of the Tibet Urban and Rural Construction and Environment Protection. Nearly 330,000 people, about 14% of the population in Tibet, live in cities and towns, and 34 Tibetan cities or towns have established "good infrastructure", according to Xinhua (SWB 20th January 1998).

6th February 1998

The TAR spent more than 400m yuan (\$50m) on agriculture and livestock, farmland, irrigation projects, river development projects and technological projects in 1997. A further 2.8bn yuan (\$35m) was spent on key construction projects including a fibre optic cable project and mobile phone systems in six cities, reported Xinhua (SWB 9th February 1998).

Investment - Sichuan, Qinghai

21st May

Qinghai province is focusing on the development of its rich natural resources to increase its economic

strength, according to Xinhua. The province has resources of petroleum, natural gas, non-ferrous metals, rare metals and a potential of 21 million

kW of hydroelectric power. A local 'resource development strategy', which began in 1978, has involved the expenditure of more than 40bn

yuan (\$5m) and the Implementation of 8,000 projects in the region (SWB 28th May).

3rd September

Preferential policies on transport, bank loans and taxation developed by Sichuan province have resulted in investment from the coastal areas of

China, reported Xinhua (SWB 27th August).

7th October

China plans to develop the Qaidam [Tsaidam] basin in Qinghai as the country's major production base for potash fertiliser, in order to meet the increasing demands of rapid agricul-

tural development, according to Xinhua. Golmud, located in the central part of the basin, has become an important transportation centre, and the construction of the railway line linking the Qinghai and Tibet autonomous regions is a priority project (SWB 10th October).

Private Sector

8th August

The private economy has emerged as a dynamic force in the development of agricultural and pastoral areas, and related activities yielded revenue of \$7.1m in 1996, according to Xinhua. There are 38,000 private businesses in the TAR (compared to 489 in 1980), which employ 57,000 people and have an average capital of nearly 10,000 yuan (\$1,200). The private sector's retail sales accounted for 42% of total retail sales in the region. Private enterprises in the transportation sector in the TAR are enjoying the

most rapid development (SWB 9th August).

11th October

The private sector in the TAR accounts for 45% of the region's total revenues, reported Xinhua (SWB 14th October).

27th October

Tibet had fewer than 500 self-employed people in 1980. By the end of last year, the number of self-employed people had risen to 39,000, according to Xinhua. There are more than 180 private enterprises in the

region, paying about 60m yuan (\$7.5m) in taxes annually, which is more than the amount of tax paid by state enterprises (SWB 28th October).

15th November

Yang Chuantang (deputy secretary of the CCP Standing Committee of the TAR) said that subsequent to the 15th Party Congress, Tibet would focus on the development of the private ownership sector, according to Xinhua (SWB 19th November).

Private Sector - Qinghai, Sichuan

27th July

Sichuan province has introduced policies to give private sector businesses a bigger role in economic growth, according to the China Business Times (reported by Xinhua). The provincial government has ensured that there will be no limit to the private sector's expansion and form of operations, and will give the same advantages to technology-intensive private enterprises as state-owned ones in applying for loans. The

province, which has appointed a deputy governor to be in charge of the private sector, has allowed successful private businesses to buy out or contract some assets of state-owned companies (SWB 1st August).

4th August

The number of large-scale private businesses in Qinghai province rose to 2,100, with 26,000 employees, compared to 362 private firms in 1990, reported Xinhua. The province had pre-

viously lagged behind other provinces in developing its private economy due to a lack of communications. By the end of June 1997 there were 67,000 household businesses, employing 100,000 people, compared to 4,500 household businesses in 1990 (SWB 6th August).

29th December

Qinghai province has 2,349 private enterprises and 15 enterprise groups (SWB 7th January 1998).

Economic Policy

15th March

The issue of controlling price rises had been resolved and economic development had made good progress during 1996, said the TAR Party Secretary Chen Kuyuan at the fifth session of the Eighth National People's Congress, as reported on Tibet TV in Lhasa. Enterprise reform should be at the centre of all reforms and Party organisations within state enterprises were to be strengthened, said Chen in his summing up of 1996 (SWB 24th March).

16th April

Li Ruihuan, a member of the Standing

Committee of the CCP Politburo, has urged Chinese provinces and regions to continue to aid the development of the TAR, according to Xinhua. Li, who is also chairman of the CPPCC, said that such assistance was the basis of various work projects in Tibet. He asserted that "expanding Tibet's economy is not a mere economic issue, but a great political issue that has a vital bearing on Tibet's social stability and progress" (SWB 18th April).

16th April

A two-day experience-exchange meeting on economic assistance to Tibet, sponsored by the CCP Central

Committee and the State Council, was held in Beijing, according to a Xinhua report. The TAR Party Work Committee gave a briefing on Tibet's achievements in reform, development, stability and spiritual civilisation since the Third Forum on Work in Tibet and on the situation of aid-Tibet work. The Central Organisational Department, State Planning Commission and State Economic and Trade Commission reported on assistance provided to the TAR by the central and state departments, provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. A dozen or so provinces, municipalities, and ministries including Shandong, Jilin,

Shanghai, Fujian, Shaanxi, Sichuan, Hubei, the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications, the Ministry of Communications, and the State Meteorological Administration gave briefings on their methods of assistance and experiences.

Representatives attended the meeting from 35 provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and cities with provincial status, as well as over 40 central and state departments and mass organisations (SWB 19th April).

29th May

Economic development in Tibet is to aim to strengthen agriculture as the foundation of the economy, accelerate the reform of state-owned enterprises, cultivate new economic outlets, continue to build up spiritual civilisation and promote rapid and sustained economic progress. These aims were set out in the Tibet Government Work Report delivered on 15th May at the fifth session of the Sixth Regional People's congress by the head of the TAR government Gyalcan [Gyaltsen] Norbu, as reported in the Tibet Daily. Gyalcan Norbu said that Chinese leaders from outside Tibet had stepped up their assistance to Tibet with funds, projects and 'human resources' in 1996 and governments at various levels had controlled price rises, reformed taxes and continued the construction of an infrastructure (SWB 5th July).

14th August

The TAR has made progress in reforming its economic system and the work

on pilot projects for establishing a new enterprise system is proceeding well, said Yang Song, a vice-chairman of the TAR, according to the Chinese financial newspaper Jinrong Shibao. With the state's support, Tibet has achieved rapid development in infrastructure, transportation facilities have improved, and the financial system is currently being reformed. In the TAR in 1996, fixed asset investments totalled around 2.5bn yuan and outstanding bank loans totalled nearly 6bn yuan (SWB 22nd December).

6th September

County treasury officials have been asked by the TAR government to balance their budgets by the year 2000. Tibet is likely to have a revenue income of 600m yuan (\$75m) in the year 2000, more than double the income in 1995, reported Xinhua. This "sound economic situation" and continued support from the central government make it possible for counties to balance their books, providing further support for the development of the region, the TAR authorities claim (SWB 9th September).

27th October

The government of the TAR is developing policies for preferential treatment in the use of electricity and land, loans, taxation and the hiring of personnel, according to Xinhua (SWB 28th October).

31st October

The TAR began a new product development project with \$6m in financial aid,

enabling the authorities to produce more name-brand goods, according to Xinhua. The new products include Zhufeng motorbikes, Lhasa carpets, Lhasa beer and Zhufeng tea (SWB 4th November).

18th November

Xenophobia and conservative ideas are in danger of slowing development in Tibet and a confusion in ideologies may create obstacles to the success of the private economy, said Gyalcan Norbu, according to a report on Tibet TV. "We have not freed ourselves from the ideological confusion of whether we are practising capitalism and socialism," said Gyalcan Norbu, addressing the third enlarged session of the fifth TAR Party Committee. "We are still hampered by confusion - are we prejudiced against the non-public sector of the economy? Because of this type of thinking, some comrades began to exclude outsiders" (SWB 22nd November).

4th December

Tibet's economic success over the past five years is due to full implementation of the Party line, principles and policies as well as to assistance from regions throughout China and from people of different ethnic groups, according to Ragdi (chairman of the TAR People's Congress and Executive Deputy Secretary of the Party) as reported by Xinhua (SWB 5th December).

8. Environment & Disasters

Summary

There were several earthquakes of significant size on the Tibetan plateau during the year, especially in the northern areas close to southern Xinjiang during the year, although there were no reports of casualties in the Chinese press. During the Hong Kong handover period there were reportedly warnings of a potential quake in the Tibetan capital, leading many people,

including soldiers, to sleep in the open. Some sources said that stories were circulating suggesting that the earthquakes were presages of major political change.

Severe snowstorms have taken place throughout the winter of 1997-8, particularly in Nagchu prefecture in the TAR, where winter reportedly began in September and there had been 40 snowfalls by the end of December. In some

areas, temperatures fell to -34C, and 1% of animals in Nagchu were said to have died by the end of December. There were similar reports from Jyekundo (Yushu) prefecture in Qinghai province, where 300,000 cattle were said to have died by January. China's leaders joined in a major exercise to publicise Chinese support and aid for nomads in the affected areas, especially Nagchu.

Earthquake Warnings Lead to Mantras on Walls

Extract from "Hong Kong Celebrations Raise Expectations in Lhasa", TIN News Update/28 June, 1997b (part)

Although Chinese troops are generally kept out of sight in Tibet, one group of soldiers is said to have set up camp in tents on the outskirts of Lhasa, possibly because there is no room in the barracks for the extra troops drafted into the area to cover the Hong Kong "alert period".

Many Tibetans have an alternative explanation for the soldiers sleeping under canvases: they believe the troops are worried about an impending earthquake which might hit the city. Either way the reports of the soldiers sleeping in tents is seen as a portent of unrest.

On or just after 2nd June an internal message was circulated by the government to the army, the medical units and the grain stores in Lhasa warning them that scientists had predicted an earthquake in the area in the near future. Other offices were told to check their buildings for safety in the event of an earthquake, according to some reports.

That night in several areas officials moved their families out into the streets or onto rooftops and slept outside. In Nyemo, 150 km west of Lhasa, officials believed thought the earthquake was due that night, and the entire population of the town slept outside, according to an unconfirmed report.

Since then flights to China are said to have been full of the families of Chinese soldiers and officials who have been sent home to avoid the expected earthquake and its possible consequences. News of the earthquake warning is now widespread and many families in Lhasa are still sleeping out on their verandahs or on rooftops at night.

The fear of earthquakes is well-founded, because the Tibetan plateau is riven by geological fault lines, and an earthquake measuring 5.3 on the Richter scale did occur in the north of Pashoe county, 500

km east of Lhasa, on 16th May. Since January a series of earthquakes have hit Kashgar in south western Xinjiang, about 1500 km north west of Lhasa, with the latest shock in the Kashgar area measuring 5.1 on the Richter scale on 24th June.

There are grounds for special concern about earthquakes in Lhasa because almost all the traditional houses in the city have been replaced by modern Chinese-style buildings which are constructed out of concrete blocks perched on narrow beams with insufficient margins to withstand earthquakes. Traditional buildings in Tibet were narrower at the top than at the base to increase stability, but the modern buildings have vertical walls.

But the real problem for the Chinese authorities lies with those who believe in portents and esoteric forces. Earthquakes in both Tibetan and Chinese mythology are seen as presaging major political change, although the change can be either good or bad - both the invasion of central Tibet in 1950 and the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 were preceded by earthquakes. The series of pro-independence demonstrations in Tibet that began in September 1987 was also preceded, and partly triggered, by three earthquakes near Lhasa during the previous week.

The earthquake warning this June came only weeks after sightings of the Hale-Bopp comet, which was clearly visible from Lhasa. Comets are also seen as a portent in Tibetan tradition.

By mid-June some walls in Lhasa had been painted with "mantras", or esoteric incantations, calling on the Buddhist deity Padmasambhava to protect people from the earthquake. Padmasambhava, addressed by Tibetans as Guru Rinpoche, was an 8th century Indian tantric master who introduced the distinctive form of Buddhism practised in Tibet and who is particularly associated with the ability to

tame demons and earth spirits, and so is able to ward off earthquakes.

Since September last year China has been running a "spiritual civilisation" campaign designed to eradicate superstitious beliefs and practices. In early June the local television station in Lhasa broadcast instructions telling people to ignore rumours, accusing supporters of the exiled Dalai Lama of trying to stir up unrest by spreading concern about earthquakes.

But Lhasa is rife with rumours about the significance of the earthquake and comet portents, with the more educated Tibetans in offices saying there will be war in the Pacific with the US or Taiwan, and the more traditional Tibetans expecting a major upsurge in Tibet's conflict with China.

"Now Guru Rinpoche is opening his eyes and looking at Tibet and will do something for us," said an older Tibetan from Lhasa. "Everybody is waiting for something to happen, which they hope will be good for Tibet", she added. "Now our sun will also shine, by the grace of the Dalai Lama."

Some Tibetans in Lhasa are even reading the recent deaths of two leading lamas as signs of imminent improvement - the leading religious teacher Gen Lamrim, who died on 28th May, and the reincarnation of Retring Rinpoche, a former regent of Tibet, who died on 13th February, are seen as having taken on themselves the "negative karma" or accumulated bad luck of the Tibetan people, according to one report.

"The earthquake plus the Hong Kong story has made people nervous," said the Tibetan from Lhasa, who asked not to be named. "They are expecting that something unusual will happen now and in a way they are excited."

Snow Disaster in Tibet

TIN News Update/8 January, 1998

A team of top Chinese officials flew into Lhasa yesterday to assess relief measures for Tibetans trapped by severe snowstorms amid varying reports about the gravity of the situation.

The local government authorities in Lhasa say that their aid efforts have been extensive and that there have been no casualties in Nagchu prefecture, the focus

of the relief effort 250 km north of Lhasa, but unofficial sources say the situation there is increasingly serious, and in neighbouring Qinghai province officials are reported to be seeking outside assistance.

"Things are well under control thanks to the rapidity of the government's disaster relief efforts," said Tsering Samdrub (Ciren Sangzhu in Chinese), a vice-chairman of the Tibet Autonomous Region,

about the situation in Nagchu, according to the China Daily last week. He was "convinced that the region will win the fight with the help of the central government and people from across the country", reported Xinhua on 30th December.

"Official figures show that Nagchu has received and distributed vast quantities of grain and fodder, as well as some 30,000 pieces of clothing, quilts and other neces-

sities [...] thanks to extensive efforts of the central and local governments," said a Xinhua report on Monday 5th January.

The TAR government has allocated 27.25 million yuan (\$3.38 million) in relief funds, and on Tuesday the army distributed 8,000 coats and 4,000 quilts in the prefectures of Nagchu, Ngari and Shigatse, all of which have been affected by the "exceedingly grave snowstorm", said Xinhua.

On Wednesday an 11-member team of high-ranking officials from the State Council, China's cabinet, arrived in Lhasa "to assess the situation and assist the local government in relief efforts", said Xinhua yesterday, in its fifth article on the subject in four days. It was unclear if the team's arrival was a publicity move or a response to concern about local provisions for handling the disaster.

Qinghai Seeks Assistance

In Qinghai province, where severe conditions are reported in the Yushu area, provincial authorities are not reported to have made any public statements but have asked for assistance from a western aid organisation, according to the Brussels-based aid organisation Medecins Sans Frontieres (Belgium) which said it had received a request from Xining, the capital of Qinghai.

A team of aid workers from the Swiss section of Medecins Sans Frontieres is based in Nangchen, in Yushu prefecture, southern Qinghai, and is reported to be preparing an assessment of the situation in higher parts of Yushu prefecture.

"Since the beginning of winter until 20th December 1997, it snowed 14 times, and owing to the temperature the snow does not melt," said an local official in Dzadoc (Chinese: Zadoi), one of the worst-hit counties in Yushu. Three quarters of a million livestock perished in Yushu in severe winter conditions two years ago.

"In some valley areas snow reaches 66 cms deep. Consequently the grass is covered and animals have nothing to eat," said the official, who predicted an increasing need for animal feed and fuel. "Snow continues to fall", he said.

A Westerner who was in the area last

month confirmed reports of serious conditions. "I witnessed one storm at the end of November where I think between 20 and 30 cms of snow fell in one storm, in one day," he told TIN. The Qinghai weather centre, contacted on Monday, said that more snow was expected in Yushu in mid- and late January, and that temperatures would remain low, so that the present snow cover would not melt.

Frostbite can reach epidemic proportions among the nomads once animals stop producing dung, which is a primary source of fuel. The risk of starvation increases in severe winters if people give their food supplies to their animals to try to save them from dying.

40 Snowfalls in Nagchu

In Nagchu, the win- began this year in September, 50 days earlier than last year, according to vice-chairman Tsering Samdrub on 30th December. There had been 40 snowfalls that winter and snow had fallen in some places at the rate of 10 cms in 24 hours in the area, he told journalists in Beijing, where he had travelled to report on the situation to the central authorities.

About 100,000 animals, or one percent of the total stock in the prefecture, were said to have died so far and temperatures had fallen in some areas to 34 degrees Celsius below zero, said the vice-chairman. The snowfall is being described as the heaviest in the Tibet Autonomous Region since it began keeping meteorological records.

News reports from Lhasa yesterday said that there is "a general mood of order and serenity" in the Nagchu region, and stressed the "abundant" supplies of meat and fresh vegetables in the town of Nagchu. But national level officials last week gave a more sober view of the situation, describing the relief effort only as "stable at present" and urging victims to solve their own problems.

"While the state provides active support, disaster victims should help themselves by engaging in productive labour, and grass-roots cadres should organise self-help projects," advised Vice-Premier Jiang Chunyun and State Councillor Li Guixian, according to a Tibet TV broad-

cast on 29th December, in the only reported comment on the disaster so far by Beijing officials.

"The state shall do everything possible to support localities with special financial difficulties and utilise every available resource to solve practical problems," they said, according to the BBC Monitoring Service. "All departments are urged to work in a concerted way to ensure success in fighting the disaster and delivering relief to disaster victims," the two officials were reported to have said.

The recent snowstorms are a fresh threat to regions that have scarcely recovered from the 1996 blizzards, and in Yushu some herders who lost all their animals that winter are still waiting for replacements. Western aid organisations such as Medecins sans Frontieres which helped deliver grain and fuel to stranded nomads in Yushu in 1996 are still widely appreciated, said a western aid worker who recently returned from the area.

The nomadic life-style is already under pressure in Yushu because of environmental degradation. "The locals refer a lot to the larger problem, that the grass cover is already very thin," said the Westerner, who asked not to be named. "They talk a lot about the fact that medium-sized wildlife, like foxes, were all killed off, and seem to feel that is a very significant factor," he said. Large areas of the high altitude grasslands in Qinghai have been destroyed by an unchecked growth in the population of pika, a species of marmots, who live by foraging grass roots. "We virtually never saw grass that was not fairly depleted," said the aid worker.

The Qinghai authorities have been implementing a four point scheme, which includes fencing all pasture areas to protect winter grazing areas and building winter shelters for animals, but the controversial plan, which some critics say is designed to encourage nomads to settle, has not yet had time to allow grassland regeneration. In the Tibet Autonomous Region officials have tried to limit grassland degradation by ordering nomads to cull excess animals each year so that herd size is restricted.

Chinese Press on the Environment

Summaries of selected articles from the Chinese press concerning environmental and development issues in Tibet during 1997. The date at the head of each item shows when the article was published or broadcast in China; the date in brackets at the end of each item indicates when the article was published in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts.

28th April

At a press conference in Beijing Xu Ruixin, Vice-minister of Civil Affairs, said that developing more public welfare services in Tibet would be one of the top priorities of social welfare for 1997. According to the Xinhua report the Ministry has pledged that it will collect 100 million yuan (\$12.5m) to build housing for juveniles and other public institutions that Tibet badly needs. Xu Ruixin said that "support for Tibet's social welfare services is especially important for social stability, ethnic unity, consolidation of frontiers, and the anti-separatist struggle." (SWB 31st March).

5th June

A report on environmental conditions in Tibet during 1996 was released by the TAR government. The report showed that water quality in the main rivers of the region was good, that underground water quality was also generally good and that air quality was the same as in the previous year, said Xinhua. Although noise pollution in Lhasa had worsened during 1996, the rural environment in Tibet was good on the whole and free from pesticide pollution. The report attributed environmental protection achievements in Tibet mostly to environment related legal work and increasing environmental protection awareness (SWB 7th June).

9th August

The State Seismological Bureau reported an earthquake measuring 5.2 on the Richter scale in Baxol (Pashoe) county in Tibet. The earthquake occurred in an area of weak

seismological activity, but the TAR seismological bureau had forecast that a quake might occur in the area, said Xinhua (SWB 11th August).

14th October

Most township enterprises in the TAR "at present constitute no threat to Tibet's ecological environment", according to a survey on industrial pollution reported by Xinhua. Rural firms in Tibet annually discharge 450,000 tons of industrial waste water, 11,000 cu. m. of waste gas, 2000 tons of industrial dust, and 51,000 tons of solid industrial waste, of which 30,000 tons is recycled. Ecologists say they cause little pollution compared to similar companies in other parts of China, and Locang Puncog [Lobsang Phuntsog], head of the Tibet Environmental Protection Bureau, said: "Tibet will never develop its local economy at the cost of its environment" (SWB 16th October).

25th October

The TAR has been transformed into a "gene bank" and haven for wild animals and plants due to the establishment of a large number of nature reserves, said Xinhua. Since 1985, 13 nature reserves at regional level or above covering a total of 325,400 sq. km. have been established. The TAR is home to nearly 6,900 types of wild plants and 125 rare animal species, including antelope, wild yaks, wild donkeys and red deer (SWB 28th October).

12th November

An earthquake measuring 5.1 on the Richter scale hit northwest Manyi in

Nagchu prefecture, according to China's seismological observation centre. The Xinhua report said that it was an aftershock of an earthquake in Mani on 8th November measuring 7.5 on the Richter scale (SWB 13th November).

20th November

An earthquake measuring 5.0 on the Richter scale shook the Kunlun mountain range between Xinjiang and the TAR, according to reports received by Xinhua from China's seismological stations (SWB 22nd October).

24th November

8 million yuan has been invested in a comprehensive agricultural development zone, to provide employment for 300 poverty-stricken families in Tingri county in the TAR, according to a report by Xinhua. A local official has said that Tingri will allocate over 7.37 million yuan (\$921,000) for poverty relief, will complete all approved development projects and will establish a loan fund of 12 million yuan (\$1.5m), as part of a plan to reach the nation's poverty relief standard by the end of 1998 (SWB 26th November).

17th December

12,000 residents have benefited from a 3-year desert harnessing project covering 1,600 mu in the TAR, said a Xinhua report. Strawberries, tomatoes, maize and wheat have all been successfully planted in the area, and the greenery coverage rate has increased from 10-30% to 30-70% since 1995 (SWB 22nd December).

9. Tourists

Summary

Restrictions on individual travellers were reintroduced prior to the Hong Kong handover period, with the result that in June, at least fifty foreign tourists with valid visas for China were turned back from the land border between Nepal and Tibet. Since then, only foreigners in tour groups have been able to enter Tibet from Nepal, unless they have official letters of invitation. Several Tibetans with foreign passports who tried to enter

Tibet from within China in June said that they had been refused entry to the TAR until after July.

The potential cost of travel in Tibet became apparent when medical officials in a Lhasa hospital refused to allow a seriously injured French tourist to be evacuated from Tibet until \$11,000 had been paid for eight days stay in the hospital. Reports indicated that there was no established system in Tibet for evacuating

tourists in a critical condition, despite the particular risks from altitude sickness and accidents.

In March, some 70 Tibetans working as tour guides in Lhasa had been refused permission by the authorities to work as guides. The Tibetans has all visited the exile community in India, mainly to study English there, and appear to be regarded as a security threat.

Tibetans Sacked After Visiting India

TIN News Update/27 March 1997

More than 60 Tibetans working for the government in Lhasa have lost their jobs because they visited India without permission from the authorities, according to unofficial reports from the Tibetan capital. Last year, the authorities in Tibet stepped up scrutiny of Tibetans returning from trips to India, where the Tibetan exile government is based, and accused them of responsibility for a bomb explosion in December.

The Tibetans, who were all working as tour guides in Lhasa, discovered earlier this month that they are not allowed to apply for a renewal of their guide permits, which have to be issued by 30th March. The ban is reported to have affected 69 Tibetans so far, all of whom have visited India in the last two years, according to unofficial sources in Lhasa.

Zhou Lizong, vice director of the Tibet Tourism Bureau, refused to confirm or deny that any Tibetan tour guides had lost their jobs when contacted by TIN in Lhasa by phone.

The ban may also be extended to hotel workers, according to unconfirmed reports, suggesting that the ruling may be based on official concern about Tibetans with pro-independence sympathies having contact with local Tibetans and foreign visitors.

In 1993 a tour guide who had returned from India was jailed for 8 months for "stealing state secrets" and released only after international pressure, and last year an exile musician, Ngawang Choephel, was sentenced to 18 years in prison for unspecified "spying activities" after returning to Tibet. A major bomb blast outside the offices of the Lhasa City Metropolitan District on 25 December last year was described by Tibet Radio as "yet another counter-revolutionary bombing staged by the Dalai clique in Lhasa City".

All tour guides in Lhasa were also told last month that they had to sit an exam, in order to have their permits renewed, following two weeks of study from 10th to 30th March. "The reason given by the authorities for the exam was that there were new regulations they had to learn," a western tourist, who visited Lhasa in March told TIN.

The guides who had visited India in the last two years paid their registration fee of 800 yuan in February, unaware of the new ruling. They were then told that they were not permitted to register as a tour guide, and that they would not be allowed to work in hotels either.

"Many of them will now have to rely on their families for support", said the western tourist who met two guides who had been refused renewal of their permits. One of them had travelled illegally to India where he studied in an exile school for a year before returning to Tibet, said the tourist, who asked not to be named. Another tourist today reported that the number of guides banned was over 70.

The ruling on the 69 tour guides may also be intended to discourage other young Tibetans from visiting the exile community in India, where they can study Tibetan culture and English, skills which are at a premium in the tourist trade in Tibet. The move is also likely to lead to increased numbers of tour guides studying in or being brought in from China, rather than India.

Unconfirmed reports indicate that more Chinese tour guides will be appointed to replace the Tibetan guides who were not allowed to resubmit themselves for registration. Over the last three years, there have been increasing numbers of domestic and overseas Chinese visitors to Tibet.

The Lhasa Holiday Inn recorded bookings by 29,000 foreigners (including overseas Chinese) and 9,000 domestic bookings in a 12 month period between 1995-6, a rise in Chinese visitors which will increase the demand for Chinese tour guides. In the late 1980s, the Tibetan authorities attempted to increase the proportion of Chinese guides in Lhasa, but this proved to be unpopular with Western tour groups and was suspended.

"Western tourists like Tibetan tour guides because they are generally more knowledgeable about the culture", said a Westerner who works in the travel industry and has taken package tours to Tibet. "They have reported to us that Chinese guides often do not seem to be interested in learning anything more than the basic facts that can be found in a guidebook. Often they don't speak Tibetan, or sometimes even English. Now Tibetan tour guides will be worried about their job security if they study in India, and so there will be a decrease in their knowledge about Tibet and its culture", he commented.

The travel agent, who asked not to be named, said that some travel companies actively sought to use Tibetan rather than Chinese guides because foreign tourists preferred them, and the authorities in Tibet said today that this practice will be allowed to continue. "It is no problem for

western tourists to employ Tibetan tour guides", Mr Zhou, vice-director of tourism in Tibet, told TIN.

"Security Risks" of Tour Guides

At the beginning of last year, Tibetan tour guides had to sit an exam set by the authorities over a 20-day period, administered by the Beijing Security Police and the Tourism Bureau from Beijing and Tibet. Topics covered included questions about "Deng Xiaoping Thought" and the question: "Is Tibet independent?" All the tour guides passed the examination and were granted permits. They were not expecting to have to re-apply for their permits this year.

The Tibetan authorities have been concerned about the security risks involving Tibetans who work with foreign tourists since at least June 1994, when the Government announced in its annual work report that tour guides should be watched in order to "put an end to the acts of some tour guides in colluding with foreign tourists to harm State security".

Tibetan tour guides working in Tibet but educated or born in India were not allowed to escort tourist groups during a brief period in May 1994, apparently in order to lessen the risk of security lapses.

Many of the 2,000 or more Tibetans who travel secretly to India each year return to Tibet after attending similar courses in English and Tibetan culture in Dharamsala, Northern India, the base of the Tibetan government in exile. The trips are carried out secretly, but in the last two years increased border controls have allowed police in Tibet to identify almost all returnees, most of whom are now detained and interrogated for up to three months on their return to Tibet.

"By putting more effort into construction along the borders and by tightening control along the borders, we must block the way for Dalai infiltrators to sneak into our region," stated the 1994 Third Forum on Work in Tibet, a major conference in Beijing in 1994 which set China's current policies for Tibet.

The Forum accused exiles of attempting to send lay and religious people into Tibet to spread nationalist ideas and called for a policy of "counter-infiltration" to overcome this strategy. "We must intensify our counter-infiltration struggle in all areas, give tit for tat, carry out crack downs and preventive measures at the same time and take the initiative to attack," said a report in the Tibet Daily on

10th March 1995.

In July last year an unnamed monk was detained in Yadong on the Tibet-Bhutan

border and accused of "infiltration", according to the Tibet Daily. The article gave no further details of his alleged

offence and his current whereabouts is unknown.

Tibet Closed Off During Hong Kong Hand-over

TIN News Update/28 June, 1997 (part)

Tibet's borders have been sealed off to individual visitors as security is tightened during the Hong Kong hand-over period.

Since the first week of June tourists have been only allowed to enter the Tibet Autonomous Region as members of tour groups, and foreign residents re-entering the region have had to show a letter of invitation from their work unit in the region, according to reports from Tibet and Nepal.

Foreigners travelling as individual tourists and most Tibetan exiles, whether travelling on overseas Chinese papers or on foreign passports, are not allowed to enter the area at all.

Yesterday some travel agencies in Kathmandu reported that they had been told by Tibetan officials that even tour groups were not allowed into Tibet after 25th June.

Tibetan exiles, who since 1979 have been encouraged to visit Tibet as "overseas Chinese", face the stiffest restrictions, with no new travel documents being issued to them either as individuals or in groups by the Chinese Embassy in Delhi until August or by the Embassy in Switzerland until at least mid-July.

Several Tibetans with foreign passports who tried to enter Tibet from within China told TIN that they had been refused entry to the Tibet Autonomous Region until after July. They were allowed to visit Qinghai and western Sichuan provinces, traditionally regarded as including parts of Tibet.

There are unconfirmed reports that

some Tibetan exiles already in Tibet or China have been told to leave the country during the hand-over period, and that Tibetan students at universities or colleges in inland China have been told to return to their homes during the holiday period.

The University of Tibet is reported to have closed this week, cutting short the final term of the academic year by one week, and its students have been told to return to their homes during the hand-over period. Other universities in China are also breaking up early - in Beijing the People's University and the Central Minorities Institute are closing for the summer on 28th June and Qinghua University will close on 29th June, two weeks earlier than usual.

Tourists Turned Back

Since 1st June at least 50 foreign tourists with valid visas for China have been turned back from the land border between Nepal and Tibet because they were not in official tour groups, according to Nepalese officials at the Friendship Bridge border post. Individual tourists with China visas were previously allowed to enter Tibet by the Nepal land border.

Tourists at the Friendship Bridge border post say they were shown a letter by Chinese border police explaining that only group tours are allowed across that border after 1st June. The letter did not say when the ban on individual travellers would be lifted, but unofficial sources expect the restrictions to be lifted by 20th July.

For the last three weeks China South West Airlines, which operates twice-

weekly flights from Kathmandu to Lhasa, has refused to issue tickets to foreign residents re-entering the region or to foreigners on business trips unless they can show an official invitation letter.

Until this month foreigners working in Tibet or on official business were the only individuals allowed to buy tickets for the flight to Lhasa, which was closed to individual tourists in May last year.

The airline has reportedly been told it will face a fine of 9,000 yuan (\$1,080) for any foreign individual flown to Lhasa during the hand-over period without an official invitation.

Tension appears to be high inside Tibet, and some tourists reported that travel outside Lhasa was now difficult for foreigners without an "Alien Travel Permit", a special handbook originally intended for individual travel in closed areas but now being issued to tourists in Tibet on condition they form groups and accept an official guide.

Tourists leaving Tibet this week said that a new practice had been introduced at Lhasa's Gongkar airport requiring each departing tourist to pay a \$10 fine unless they could present their "Alien Travel Permit". The demand led to disputes with passport officials and in one incident at the airport on 14th June an American tour leader who was contesting the new regulation was persuaded to pay the fine by a plain clothes security official who put a gun to his head at the passport control desk.

Hospital Delays Injured Tourist's Evacuation

TIN News Update/11 September, 1997

Medical officials in a Lhasa hospital refused to allow a seriously injured French tourist to be evacuated from Tibet until \$11,000 had been paid for eight days' stay in the hospital.

A medical evacuation team flown from China was not permitted to take the patient to a waiting Lear jet for two days

until well-wishers of the tourist had been found in the US who guaranteed to meet the hospital's fees.

The 56-year old patient, Anne Yschar, had been in a coma for six days with a fractured pelvis when the evacuation team arrived in Lhasa on 20th August.

Comatose patients risk sustaining brain damage or death if they do not have access

to specialised medical equipment and diagnosis, which is generally not available in Tibet. Pelvic fractures can also lead to potentially fatal secondary injuries if undiagnosed, say doctors.

Ms. Yschar was held at the Tibet People's Hospital, where Tibetan and Chinese patients are not allowed admission unless they first pay a deposit of

2,000 yuan (US\$240) - nearly half the average annual income for city dwellers in the Tibetan capital. Only a few forms of treatment are subsidised by the government in urban hospitals - for example, an abortion at the People's Hospital costs only 10 yuan (\$1.2).

Ms Yscharid was admitted only after a Tibetan travel agency with which she had travelled earlier volunteered to collect her from the site of the accident and paid a 5,000 yuan (\$600) deposit to get her admitted to the People's Hospital.

A new emergency medical centre opened at Lhasa's First People's Hospital this year, supported by an Italian government project which is spending US\$280,000 on providing equipment, ambulances and training for the unit.

"After a year of our experts working with local health managers, the local health authorities agreed to put a priority on the life of the patient before the payment," said Gianluca Falicelli of the Comitato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo dei Popoli, a Rome-based development agency which is carrying out the project for the Italian Foreign Ministry. "Nevertheless, there are still problems that mean the ruling is not completely applied," he told TIN.

"We designed a project that was in principle able to give some benefit to the indigenous Tibetan population and the new Chinese immigrant population," said a source close to the General Directorate for Development Co-operation of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the department that oversees the Italian funding.

"But we have to take into account that the general administration is Chinese, and the administration has to make the decision about payment for treatment," he told TIN.

Accident

Ms. Yscharid, who had been travelling alone for three weeks after a short group tour in Tibet, was found in a coma on 13th August near Nagchu, 250 km north of Lhasa. Her injuries could have been caused by a road accident, but officials have so far given no account of how she came to be injured.

She was discharged from the Tibet People's Hospital on 22nd August as soon as the money was paid by well-wishers and flown to a Hong Kong hospital, still in a coma, for treatment. Ms Yscharid, who had insurance cover for evacuation but not for hospital costs, is now being treated in a Paris hospital, and is still unconscious, despite some signs of sensory awareness.

"Yscharid suffered serious concussion injury to the brain with very little improvement over the past few days," said Dr Yiu Ting Kan, a neurological surgeon at St Theresa's Hospital in Hong Kong who monitored her progress after she arrived there on 22nd August. "It is impossible to prognosticate her final neurological recovery at this stage, but it is envisaged that her course of recovery and rehabilitation will be protracted," he said.

The evacuation was carried out after intervention by the French Embassy by Asia Emergency Assistance (AEA), a joint venture company which is reportedly part-owned by China's PLA. "We were getting very anxious," said Dr Robert Condon of AEA, who collected Ms. Yscharid from Lhasa and provided medical treatment during the flight to Hong Kong via Chengdu. "We carry out many different evacuations of foreign nationals all over the world, but this was one of the most difficult logistically," he said.

The People's Hospital in Lhasa was unable to provide a ventilator for the patient - such equipment is usually only available in Lhasa at the Military Hospital - and oxygen was delivered through nasal tubes.

"A supply of oxygen through nasal tubes is not adequate for someone in this condition," commented Peter Kirkpatrick, consultant neurosurgeon at Addenbrooke's Hospital, Cambridge. "A patient with severe head injuries like this should be transferred immediately to a neurosurgical unit," said Mr Kirkpatrick. "A delay in treatment could be very damaging," he said.

The Lhasa hospital has X-ray equipment but apparently did not carry out any X-rays, according to the Hong Kong medical staff who received the patient. The Lhasa doctors did not provide any medical records with the patient and her belongings have also disappeared.

The hospital's demand of \$10,000 for the eight day stay was sent to the Beijing office of Ms Yscharid's insurance company, Worldwide Assistance. "Advice as soon as possible if the medical expenses in Lhasa hospital can be guaranteed otherwise patient cannot be discharged tomorrow," the insurers wrote to former colleagues of Ms Yscharid who had enquired about the delay in her evacuation. "The hospital expenses incurred in Tibet People's Hospital are over RMB 80,000 [yuan] (\$10,000) now," the insurers reported on 21st August.

By the next day the International Campaign for Tibet, a Washington-based organisation for which Ms. Yscharid had occasionally worked as a volunteer, had

guaranteed to pay the hospital fees, which had by that time risen to \$11,000, in order to allow immediate evacuation.

The organisation and friends also had to pay a further \$3,500 to cover additional costs incurred in transporting the patient to the hospital in Lhasa and for medicines administered to her while she was there, as well as \$5,000 for her admission to a hospital in Hong Kong.

A typical charge for foreigners in a top quality hospital in China is about 1,000 yuan (\$120) a day, according to one Westerner who stayed in a Chengdu hospital last month, although intensive care treatment would be more expensive.

The International Campaign for Tibet has set up a fund to pay for the costs of Ms. Yscharid's treatment in Lhasa and Hong Kong, and for on-going needs. French and US Government officials had gone out of their way to help in the evacuation, and the medical evacuation company had waived some of its fees to fly her back to France, said John Ackerly, a spokesman for the organisation.

Ms. Yscharid, a French citizen who lived in Virginia in the US, where she worked as French-English translator, has no close surviving relatives and may need long-term care, he said.

Tourist Risks

Tourists travelling in Tibet face particular risks from altitude sickness and accidents because there is no established system for evacuating tourists who are in a critical condition.

Western tour experts operating in Tibet estimate one death per year from acute altitude sickness, some of which are unavoidable if the patient is in a remote area when they became ill. Others occurred because local doctors or tour officials were unwilling to organise evacuations.

"Their medical training is not crisis-oriented," said one Westerner with experience of several evacuations from Tibet. "They don't seem to have a mechanism for dealing with seriously injured people, unless there is a determined companion or local friend who will insist on them being flown out," said the Westerner, who asked not to be named. Costs charged to tourists by the main hospitals in Lhasa are extremely high, often around \$1,000 a day, he added.

A British tourist died from altitude sickness in the Tibet People's Hospital in August 1991, three weeks after admission, after repeated requests by a western doctor to evacuate him to Chengdu were overruled by senior medical staff at the hospital who said that the patient had no

signs of cerebral oedema and would recover.

"His lips, nose and nail beds were blue and he was gasping for air," said an American tourist who visited the 78 year old man, himself a doctor, at one point during his time in the People's Hospital. "We checked his oxygen tank, and found it was empty... There was no sense of emergency on the part of either of the nurses," she said of the patient, who died from cerebral oedema five days later.

Acute altitude sickness can only be cured by moving the patient to a lower

altitude, and the symptoms are detectable in advance in most cases.

The following year a Swiss woman with the same life-threatening condition was evacuated from Lhasa only after the Swiss Embassy in Beijing, tipped off by a Westerner of her condition, sent a team to collect the patient, overruling local medical opinion. A German tourist died in similar circumstances last November after her tour group left her unattended when she developed symptoms of altitude sickness.

12,000 foreigners visited Tibet last

year, plus 20,000 domestic tourists, according to some official reports, a figure which the local government hopes to double this year. Road travel in China is relatively dangerous, with 29% of road traffic injuries resulting in death within 30 days - a proportion that is 59% greater than in India, and 23 times greater than in the United States, according to Chinese statistics issued in 1995.

[Note: In January 1998 Ms Yscharad was still in a coma. She is receiving treatment in a Paris hospital.]

Travel Restrictions Target Americans

TIN News Update/8 October, 1997

A hotel in Lhasa has been closed to foreign visitors and travel restrictions imposed on American tourists following a clandestine trip by a US Congressman to Tibet, according to unofficial reports from the region.

Armed troops in riot gear have been patrolling the streets of Lhasa, according to tourists returning from Tibet, where security measures were stepped up to deter unrest during the Party's five-yearly Congress in Beijing. Last week marked the tenth anniversary of major unrest in Lhasa which led to the re-emergence of the pro-independence movement in Tibet.

The Hotel Kyichu in the Barkor area of central Lhasa was ordered to close to foreigners from 22nd September, and Americans already in Lhasa as individual tourists were told to leave Tibet by the end of September, according to travel agents in Nepal. American tourists in the city are no longer entitled to visa extensions beyond this date, say the reports.

The restrictions are thought to be linked to a controversial visit by Frank Wolf, a US Congressman who spent four days in Tibet as a tourist from 9th August, accompanied by an aide and an American fluent in Tibetan. Wolf, who stayed in the Hotel Kyichu during his visit, held a press conference in Washington on 20th August describing his trip and criticising Chinese policies in Tibet.

China's official press agency issued at least eight articles condemning Wolf's trip, calling him a "slanderer" and describing his claims of human rights abuses as a "malicious attack", "sensational lies" and "claptrap".

"Republican representative Frank Wolf, who recently sneaked into Tibet in the disguise of a tourist, sensationally announced that during his four day tour of Tibet he

saw that the region was being 'swallowed' by China through mass arrests and brutal repression and Tibetan language and culture were being destroyed," said Xinhua on 23rd August.

Tourists who were made to leave the Hotel Kyichu when the ban was imposed last week confirmed that the order was related to the Congressman, and said the hotel was expected to remain closed to foreigners for up to three months. "We were told that the hotel was closed down because of Congressman Wolf's visit," said one Westerner, who asked not to be named.

The Westerner said that the situation had been aggravated by the presence of two American film-makers who were travelling as tourists and who had moved into the hotel two weeks ago. Police carried out a late night raid on the hotel the night before the closure order, apparently because of suspicions aroused by the undercover film-makers.

At least six groups of westerners are known to have visited Tibet last month to film scenes for proposed documentaries or feature films about the situation there, part of a wave of commercial media interest in the subject expected to follow the release today of a Hollywood film about the Dalai Lama's tutor, Heinrich Harrer.

"There was a strong anti-foreigner, particularly anti-American, feeling in the capital," said the Westerner, who has visited the city several times in the last four years. "We could tell that the authorities were prepared to turn the screw at any time by expelling people from hotels, changing visa regulations, and so on. The streets were full of police officers and armed police," he added.

Another popular tourist hotel, the Snowlands Hotel, was also raided by

police last week. "The Public Security Bureau came to the Snowlands at 11.30 pm last Friday and went to every room and checked everyone's passport," said one tourist speaking from Kathmandu yesterday after returning from the region.

Two other tourists said that they had seen police in riot gear patrolling the streets of Lhasa at night from around 12th September, when the Party Congress began in Beijing. "They were patrolling in groups of six, wearing hard helmets with visors and carrying automatic weapons," said a European tour guide who led a group to Lhasa three weeks ago.

"They wore red arm bands, which we had not seen before and thought might be something to do with the Congress," she said. Armed patrols are unusual in Lhasa, where the authorities have tried to lower the profile of security operations since the early 1990s.

Another tourist reported that the patrols increased around 27th September, the anniversary of an incident in 1987 when police beat up 21 monks who had staged a small protest in the city centre, triggering off a series of more than 160 pro-independence demonstrations over the next nine years.

From at least 16th September the five star flag of the Chinese republic was hoisted from the top of the Potala Palace, the former residence of the Dalai Lama and the most prominent feature in the city, according to other tourists. "Hanging down the side of the Palace below the flag was a banner proclaiming the opening of the 15th Party Congress," said an English tourist who was in Lhasa on 18th September.

In September 1995 the Chinese authorities cleared a large parade ground in front of the palace and have been flying a state

flag from a pole in the square, but this is believed to be the first time the flag has been flown from the Palace itself. In August last year officials who had moved into Drepung Monastery, 6 km west of Lhasa, erected a flag pole and hoisted the Chinese flag above the Ganden Podrang, a building which had housed the Tibetan Government in the 17th century before it moved to the Potala Palace.

Americans Facing Travel "Problems"

American tourists are no longer allowed to travel in Tibet as individuals, according to instructions passed on to travel agencies in Kathmandu by their Tibetan counterparts in Lhasa two weeks ago.

Since June this year, when new measures were introduced to deter unrest during the Hong Kong hand-over, individual tourists have no longer been allowed entry at the land border between Nepal and Tibet. But foreigners can still travel in Tibet as individuals if they pay a travel agency in Kathmandu or Chengdu to obtain a special permit direct from the Tibet Tourism Bureau in Lhasa.

These permits are now being denied to American tourists, who for the time being can visit Tibet only in scheduled tour groups, which are accompanied by a local guide and follow a strict itinerary.

"American nationals are experiencing a lot of problems in travelling to Tibet at the moment," the director of a Kathmandu

travel company told TIN today. Last month one group of 14 Americans in Kathmandu was refused entry to Tibet as a group because one member of the group had written the wrong passport number on their application form, said the tour operator. "A lot of Americans who want to visit Tibet are crying in Nepal these days," he said.

The restriction on the special permits for American visitors does not apply to those on business visas or with official invitations, but businessman and other foreign residents in Lhasa are reported to be facing extra scrutiny in recent weeks, with some required to hand over details of their personal biographies to the police.

Congressman Wolf declined to make any comment on the latest reports, but a spokeswoman for his office in Washington said that they did not have any information about adverse consequences arising from his trip. "Mr Wolf would not have done anything that would have jeopardised anybody else's wellbeing," she said on Friday.

There were unconfirmed rumours that the travel agency that arranged Wolf's visit had been closed by the authorities for a brief period after his trip, but this could not be confirmed from London and the reports were strongly denied by Wolf's spokeswoman.

Travel agencies in Tibet are routinely closed down if they accept bookings from journalists or diplomats. In May 1994, the

Linzi Travel Agency, a Lhasa-based agency, was suspended after it arranged a tour for a group which turned out to include a US diplomat. All travel agencies were warned in a circular issued the same month that they would also face closure if they were found to have allowed diplomats or journalists to join their groups.

One of the statements issued by Hinhua in response to Wolf's visit revealed new information about political prisoners in the Tibet Autonomous Region. The article, issued on 30th August, admitted for the first time that there are three prisons in the region and said they hold between 1,700 and 1,800 prisoners, of whom 9%, or about 155, have been convicted of state security offences.

Until recently China has said it has only one prison in Tibet. The term "prison" is used by the Chinese only to describe labour-reform institutions for convicted prisoners, and is not used to describe to other kinds of detention centres.

Security was increased across China to mark its National Day on 1st October, and a Hong Kong magazine claimed last Thursday that "comparatively large-scale armed rebellions" took place in Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia "just before National Day". The paper, the Oriental Daily News, offered few details of the incidents, but said that nine officials had been killed in the attacks. The report could not be confirmed.

10. Outside Tibet

Summary

Official relations between Lhasa and Kathmandu continued to be friendly, and in July the Prime Minister of Nepal reiterated his government's support for the "One China" policy. In September, 66 Tibetan and Nepalese businesses took part in the Tibet-Nepal Trade Fair in Lhasa. But at the local level, there were reports in March that Nepalese truck drivers staged a two and a half day demonstration outside the Tibetan border post in protest at an attack by a border policeman on a taxi driver. In June, cross-border trade between Tibet and Nepal was said to have dropped off after harassment of Nepalese traders by Chinese border police. In November, one of Nepal's leading newspapers called on the Kathmandu government to make a public protest to

Beijing after armed police crossed from Tibet into Nepalese territory in October, searching for a Nepalese trader who had failed to pay a debt.

In November, the Chinese government proposed sending a high level delegation from Tibet to London, headed by Ragdi. The delegation would have been the first Tibetan delegation since 1948, and was also unusual in having a purely political objective, "to spread understanding of the Tibet situation and history"; provincial level delegations normally travel as cultural or economic missions. The British Foreign Office made their help on planning the programme conditional on the delegation agreeing to meet the two main pro-Tibet lobby groups in Britain and a group of British parliamentarians who

support the Dalai Lama. The delegation subsequently cancelled its trip. In December, a delegation headed by Gyaltsen Norbu, the Governor of the TAR, visited Norway and Germany.

Over 2,200 Tibetan refugees arrived in Nepal during 1997, nearly half of them in the last three months of the year. About 500 of the refugees were children sent to join exile government schools or monasteries in India, and about 1,000 were monks or nuns. In December several of the refugees died from exposure attempting to escape from Tibet. These included five children who died after a three-day storm near Mount Everest in early December. In addition, cases of severe frostbite resulted in amputations.

Dalai Lama Plans "Rebirth Outside Tibet"

TIN News Update/30 May, 1997

The Dalai Lama will be reborn if the Chinese-Tibetan dispute has not been resolved by the time he dies, the exile Tibetan leader said in a speech this week, adding that his reincarnation would "definitely" be born outside Tibet if the dispute continues.

The Tibetan leader has previously avoided saying whether there will be another Dalai Lama after him and is not known to have said before where his successor will be born.

"If I die in exile, and if the Tibetan people wish to continue the institution of the Dalai Lama, my reincarnation will not be born under Chinese control," he told a meeting of Tibetan exiles during a visit to New York on Sunday 25th May.

"The 15th Dalai Lama will be more competent and better than the present," added the Tibetan leader, who is considered by his followers to be the 14th of his line.

"That reincarnation will definitely not come under Chinese control; it will be outside, in the free world. This I can say with absolute certainty," he continued, according to transcripts by the Tibetan language service of the Washington-based

radio station Voice of America.

The statement appears to be the lama's first public response to a bizarre press campaign being waged by Beijing about the Dalai Lama's death. Chinese officials and journalists have been highlighting the Tibetan leader's increasing age since the lama turned sixty in 1995.

"The Dalai Lama is getting on in years and worries," declared a headline in China's Tibet, an official magazine produced in Beijing, in February 1995. "He is well aware of what the future holds, and worries that upon his death Tibetans in exile will lose their spiritual leader, and no one in the exile clique can assume his position," continued the magazine's lead article, which said that the exile movement would disintegrate once its leader died.

Last winter the same magazine said that the Dalai Lama had a "yearning for longevity" and accused him of hoping to live to the age of 120. The "hysterical" lama was locked in an occult battle to prevent religious opponents in India using esoteric powers to make him die earlier, suggested the magazine's lead article.

The articles have strengthened rumours

that since contacts between Beijing and the exiles broke down in September 1993 the Chinese authorities have suspended any plans for negotiations with the Dalai Lama and intend to wait for his death to resolve the dispute.

The Tibetan system of rule-by-incarnation is deeply flawed because it always involves 20-year periods of uncertainty while a new leader is selected and brought up from infancy. The exiles face additional problems, as indicated by China's Tibet, because they have not agreed on the Dalai Lama's earlier proposals that they appoint a secular leader to partly replace him.

The Dalai Lama said on Sunday that he was making his statement to refute claims that China will be able to control the selection of his reincarnation, if the dispute remains unsettled. The claims were fuelled by the 1995 confrontation over the selection of the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, the highest ranking lama to have remained in Tibet, which led China to insist that according to a 1792 treaty "the conferment of titles of Dalai and Panchen" are dependent on "approval by China's Central Government".

Tibet-Nepal Trade Drops After Chinese Police Assaults

TIN News Update/26 June, 1997

Harassment of Nepalese traders by Chinese border police has led to a sharp drop off in cross-border trade and to high-level diplomatic attempts to improve border relations, according to reports from the area.

Last week the Nepalese Prime Minister received a delegation of generals from China's People's Liberation Army and announced that recent meetings would be set up between border officials of the two countries.

The seven-person delegation had come from the Chengdu Military Region, which supervises the army in central and eastern Tibet, and visited Nepal "to promote understanding and deepen friendship between the two countries and the two armed forces", according to Xinhua on 13th June.

The visit came shortly after Nepalese newspapers reported that cross-border trade of major commodities at Dram had dropped by 20% in the previous ten months as a result of Chinese police

behaviour at the border. Dram is the Tibetan name for the town on the main Tibet-Nepal border crossing, called Khasa by Nepalis or Zhangmu by Chinese.

"Due to harassment caused by the Chinese police to small Nepalese traders, the import of Khasa goods to Nepal has gone down by over 20 percent in the first ten months of the current fiscal year," the Kathmandu Post reported on 27th May. It added that the low quality of goods and the "unco-operative behaviour of Chinese officials" had also contributed to the drop in imports at Khasa.

In March this year Nepalese truck drivers staged a two and a half day demonstration outside the Tibetan border post in protest at an attack by a border policeman on a Nepalese taxi driver, believed to be the first time drivers have taken collective action there. Tibetans on the Chinese side of the border post held a demonstration against police brutality in August last year, after a Tibetan youth was beaten to death by Public Security officials.

The demonstration by Nepalese truck drivers, which has not previously been reported, blocked all motor traffic and trade across the Tibet-Nepalese border at Dram for more than 60 hours and was only resolved when an emergency meeting was convened between high-level officials from both countries.

The dispute erupted at the Friendship Bridge (the only border post for vehicles between Nepal and Tibet) at noon on 3rd March when a Chinese member of the People's Armed Police demanded a lift in a minibus from the Bridge to Khasa, about 8 kilometres north of the Bridge.

The driver, Tashi Gyaltsen Sherpa, was pulled out of his minibus and beaten up by the policemen for refusing to make a front seat passenger give up his seat for the policeman, who had been offered a rear seat for the 30-minute journey.

Tashi Gyaltsen, a Sherpa with Nepalese citizenship, had a permit to operate a taxi service on the eight kilometre route which lies within Chinese territory between the

Bridge and the Chinese customs post at the Tibetan town of Dram. Both the Chinese border post at the Friendship Bridge and the Customs Post at Dram are operated by members of China's People's Armed Police. There are no Tibetan or Chinese taxis in Dram or in the border zone, and all the private taxis operating between the two posts are owned by Nepalese.

The truck drivers' demonstration began two and half hours later as a gesture of support for Tashi Gyaltsen, who had reversed his minibus onto the Friendship Bridge immediately after the beating and, as a protest, blocked the road by parking the van sideways across the middle of the Bridge, beside the line which separates Nepal from Tibet.

Truck drivers lined their vehicles up beside the minibus, making it impossible for the authorities to remove it and leading to a seven kilometre tail-back which stretched south down the Nepal-Tibet highway beyond the Nepalese Customs post at Larcha, according to one Nepalese source who spoke to drivers soon after the incident.

The minibus driver then travelled to the district capital at Chautara, 50 km. south of the border, where he filed an official complaint with the Nepalese authorities, which was supplemented by an additional petition from the truck drivers.

The petitions complained of frequent beatings by members of the People's Armed Police, protested against a bribe of 100 yuan which truck drivers are asked to pay when crossing the border, and demanded a grievance procedure for dealing with complaints.

The petitioners also criticised cash payments demanded by Chinese officials for parking at the customs compound in Dram, and complained that Chinese officials demand free rides and gifts of food, alcohol, fresh vegetables and pornographic videos, according to unofficial sources.

"The protest is quite unprecedented," commented a former Nepalese immigration official who worked at the Friendship Bridge. "The grievances of Nepalese drivers against the bribery and violence of the Chinese authorities are well known, but I have never heard of them taking action in such a way."

The drivers moved their vehicles only after Chinese representatives attended an emergency meeting with Nepalese officials and promised that any further problems would be investigated, and that necessary action would be taken against border officials infringing regulations.

The undertaking was given by the Head of the Zhangmu (Dram) local

Government, and by the Heads of Immigration and Customs in Zhangmu. Chinese civil and military officials from Shigatse, the prefectural capital in Tibet which has administrative responsibility for Dram, are also believed to have travelled to the area during the dispute.

The Nepalese side was represented in the meeting by the Chief District Officer of Sindhupalchok District, the District Court Judge, the local customs officer and the local Deputy Superintendent of Police.

The officials gave an assurance that the situation would be closely monitored and misconduct by officials of either country would be penalised, according to one source, who said that the policemen involved in the beating of Tashi Gyaltsen had been transferred.



Above, the Friendship Bridge at Dram

"It is said that since this incident, the behaviour of the Chinese police has improved, and there is less harassment," an official from the Trans-Himalayan Traders' Association of Nepal told TIN in April.

Other local officials have since expressed doubts about the effectiveness of the assurances. "The problems of Nepalese traders have been raised officially to the concerned officials and they have given assurances, [but] in practice no assurances have been implemented," the Kathmandu Post quoted Khemraj Bhattarai, Nepal's Chief Customs Officer in the Friendship Bridge area, as saying on 27th May.

Tibetan "killed" by Dram Police

Public Security officials in the Tibetan town of Dram, immediately north of the border with Nepal, have faced similar allegations as the People's Armed Police operating at the border.

Last August a 28-year old Tibetan named Tsering died in custody in the Dram Public Security office, allegedly as a result of beatings carried out by local Tibetan policemen.

The youth had been detained after refusing police orders to leave a restaurant where he had been drinking. Two policemen are said to have tied his hands, beat him with a rifle, and dragged him from the restaurant to the Public Security office, an eyewitness told TIN. Tsering died in the police station the same evening or on the following day, 24th August. The death was said by officials to be the result of a suicide attempt.

A group of Tibetans marched to the police station on 25th August and demanded an inquiry into the incident, according to a separate and unconfirmed report. This report claimed that the protestors were asked to disperse by the dead boy's father, a senior local official called Lobsang, and that local officials later gave up to 3,000 yuan (approximately \$360) to the family for the funeral.

Tibetan traders in Dram staged a similar protest against police violence after two Tibetans were stabbed by police officers in August 1994. There are a number of reports of assaults by police in Dram on refugees who have been caught trying to cross the border into Nepal or repatriated by Nepalese police. "They beat me in my face with their fists and gave me electric shocks in my face and chest," said Nyima, a 19 year old Tibetan from Damshung who was caught trying to cross the border in March 1994.

In one incident in January this year, a Nepalese man was beaten by Chinese police at the border for taking tea to some Tibetans refugees who were being held by the People's Armed Police on the Chinese side of the Friendship Bridge, an eyewitness told TIN. "Five or six of them beat him, and he fell to the ground three times," she told TIN, on condition of anonymity.

Trade Drops at Border

There was a drop of 17% in the total value of goods imported by Nepal through Dram in the ten months up to May this year, in comparison with the same period last year. The value of the ten major products imported by Nepal via Dram - including terry-cotton fabric, shoes, blankets, jackets, torches and radios - came to 185.4

million Nepalese rupees (c. \$3.3m) in the same period, a 20% fall over the previous year, according to the Kathmandu Post. Large quantities of Tibetan wool are also imported from Tibet via Dram as the raw material for carpets, Nepal's major export, but in the early 1970s, cheaper Australian and New Zealand wool replaced Tibet as the main supplier for Nepal's carpet factories.

Nepal exports flour, vegetable ghee (clarified butter used in butter lamps), biscuits, noodles and other food products via Dram into Tibet, and exports of flour and ghee are said to have increased so far this year by 62% and 27% respectively.

Nepal has a crippling trade deficit with China and exported only \$4.7 million worth of goods to China in the 12 months to mid-July 1995, leaving it with a shortfall of US\$52.9 million, an increase of 21 per cent over the previous 12-month period. Just over 37% of Nepal's trade with China involved the Tibet Autonomous Region, representing goods worth \$21.6

million, during the same period. In 1994 bilateral trade between the two countries had been worth \$42 million, of which Nepalese imports from China had accounted for \$2 million, a deficit of \$38 million.

The 114-kilometre road linking Kathmandu with Kodari on the Nepal-Tibet border was built in 1966 with Chinese assistance. Nepalese drivers who cross the border need special permits to go to Dram but are not allowed to travel beyond the town, notwithstanding a 1994 agreement between China and Nepal which was supposed to lead to the opening of a direct road transport service between Kathmandu and Lhasa in June of that year.

In May 1995 Nepali and Tibetan transport officials met again and agreed to begin a public bus and truck service the following month. "The opening of direct road transport service will boost trade, promote tourism and generate employment," said Devi Prasad Bastola, spokesman for the Nepali Works and Transport Ministry, according to a Reuters

report at the time.

Nepali officials said that their traders would be able to export construction goods and food to Tibet at cheaper rates than if those items were transported to Tibet from within China. In April 1995, the Nepalese finance minister official asked the Chinese authorities to allow the opening of new trade routes between his country and Tibet, at Sankhuwasabha District in eastern Nepal and Mustang in the west of the kingdom.

So far the proposals have not been accepted and there is no bus or truck service beyond the border. All vehicles from Nepal still have to enter Tibet by the Friendship Bridge and be unloaded at Dram for transport to Lhasa, 800 km to the north-east, by Chinese trucks.

During a state visit to Nepal in 1996 Chinese President Jiang Zemin urged Nepal to produce more marketable goods for export to Tibet as a means of trimming the trade imbalance.

China Gathers Support on Tibet

TIN News Update/1 July, 1997 (part)

China has taken advantage of the return of Hong Kong to launch a little noticed diplomatic thrust on Tibet, and has announced the support of six countries previously uninvolved in the Tibet issue, according to reports in the official Chinese media.

The diplomatic achievement is minor but follows the launching of a "new phase" in a Beijing-endorsed campaign against the exile Tibetan leader which accuses him of lying in his claims to be a pacifist, a religious leader, or interested in negotiating with China.

In the last month Mexico, Cambodia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan have all made statements of support or have been publicly thanked by the Chinese government for their support of its position in Tibet.

In recent years China has waited until a foreign government has criticised Beijing's human rights record in Tibet and then demanded a statement from that government recognising Chinese sovereignty in Tibet, apparently in compensation for the criticism.

Now the re-unification of Hong Kong has given Beijing diplomats the opportunity to seek statements congratulating it on regaining the territory while at the same time getting statements of support for its policies on Taiwan - and Tibet. The raising of Tibet in discussions with countries that

have not criticised China, and the bracketing of Tibet with Taiwan, are unusual for the Chinese, and suggest that Tibet is being given more prominence as a foreign policy concern.

Chinese media reports on the meetings did not mention support for its policies in Xinjiang, where unrest is more critical than in Tibet and where Chinese sovereignty is also disputed, even though Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan both border the region.

China's Defence Minister Chi Haotian received support "over the issues of Taiwan, Tibet and human rights" from Alyaksandr Lukashenka, President of Byelorussia during a visit to Minsk on 2nd June, according to a Xinhua report the next day. During a 20 day tour of former Soviet countries, Minister Chi obtained the support of Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan for "the Chinese government's stand on the Taiwan and Tibet issues", according to Xinhua on 21st June.

Hun Sen, one of Cambodia's two Prime Ministers, stressed that "Cambodia sticks to the 'One China' policy, and that both Taiwan and Tibet are inalienable parts of China", according to Xinhua on 14th June, making a clear link between the Taiwan and Tibet issues. The remarks were made during a meeting with China's new ambassador to Phnom Penh.

A delegation from China's Parliament, the National People's Congress, announced

that it had obtained a statement of support "on issues of Taiwan, Tibet and human rights" from the Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo during a visit to Mexico on 10th June.

China's strategy of obtaining compensatory statements recognising its sovereignty in Tibet from western countries who have made slight human rights criticisms of Beijing has been one of its major diplomatic successes in the last ten years.

Many western countries gave statements of express recognition for the first time, although some statements arguably retained a measure of ambiguity by describing Tibet as an "autonomous region of China". The British Government, which has an authoritative position on the issue because of its diplomatic relations with Tibet before 1947, acknowledges only that Tibet is "autonomous" and that China has a "special position" there.

Last week the Prime Minister of Nepal, who was on his way to attend the Hong Kong celebrations, reiterated his government's support for the "One China" policy and said it would not "allow any activity against China on its territory", according to a Xinhua report. The Nepalese Defence Minister added that Nepal, which has already given frequent statements accepting China's position in Tibet, "would do its utmost to prevent any anti-China activities".

China's diplomatic strategy with countries which have already given repeated support for its sovereignty claims appears to be to get them to ban anti-Chinese activities on their soil. Both Nepal and India have given such assurances,

although they rarely act on them.

In January last year the Chinese Foreign Minister asked his British counterpart to "not allow Tibetan separatists to conduct activities aimed at separating China on British territory", according to

Xinhua. The request is standard for Nepal and India but is unusual in reports of Chinese dealings with a western government, and the British do not appear to have responded to it.

Nepal Incursion by Tibet Police

TIN News Update/13 November, 1997

One of Nepal's leading newspapers has called on the Kathmandu government to make a public protest to Beijing, after armed Chinese police crossed from Tibet into Nepalese territory last month.

The incident came only days before a visit to Nepal by a leading Chinese official, Chen Muhua, a vice-chair of China's National People's Congress. The Chinese side issued a statement on the visit which noted that Nepal's Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa had said that Nepal and China "are friendly neighbours with no contradictions or problems existing between them", according to a Xinhua report on Tuesday 11th November.

The incursion into Nepal occurred on 19th October when armed police from the Tibetan border town of Dram (known as Zhangmu in Chinese) crossed the Nepal-Tibet border by the Friendship Bridge at Kodari and raided and searched a house in Tatopani, 5 km south of the frontier.

The police were searching for a Nepalese businessman, Bhakata Bahadur Shrestha, in order to enforce a debt that Shrestha had failed to pay to a trader in Dram.

Sources in Nepal claim that the police "manhandled" Shrestha's wife when they could not find the trader, and tried to arrest her in his place until they were prevented by locals, according to the Kathmandu Post. The next day the police, probably members of China's People's Armed Police, returned to Shrestha's house in Tatopani and demanded the money from him at gunpoint.

Shrestha, who is said to have owed 146,000 Nepalese rupees (c. US \$2,600) to the businessman, claims that he had been in Dram the previous day, and that he had been tied up by a group of Chinese traders and held there for several hours before he was able to escape back to Nepal, a few hours before the first police raid on his home.

The issue was resolved on 24th October after several rounds of talks between local Nepalese and Chinese officials, and the Nepali trader was obliged to hand over the money.

A lengthy editorial in the Kathmandu

Post on 30th October said that the incident could not be justified "under any circumstances" and said it violated "all norms of international behaviour", while local politicians in the border area described it as "open aggression".

A Home Ministry official told TIN that there had been no unauthorised entry by Chinese security officials. The bilateral agreement between China and Nepal allows citizens and officials from either country to enter each other's territory up to 35 kilometres from the border, according to Kulchandra Shrestha, the Director General of the Immigration Department in Kathmandu.

There are a number of reports of disputes in Dram leading to the confiscation of Nepalese vehicles by police there, and local officials in Tatopani said the incursion was not unique. Such incidents "are a very common phenomenon here", said Amrit Kumar Khadka, chairman of the Village Development Committee in Tatopani. Dram officials could not be reached for comment.

Chinese Trip Reaffirms Ties and Trade Links

The visit of Chen Muhua to Nepal was presented by the Chinese authorities as a re-affirmation of Nepal's continued support for China on the Tibetan issue.

The Nepali Prime Minister, Surya Bahadur Thapa, told Ms. Chen that his country views Tibet as an autonomous region of China, and that it is "strongly opposed" to its territory being used for "unfriendly activities for splitting Tibet from China", according to a Xinhua report on 11th November.

Ms Chen's visit follows an exchange of visits between Chinese President Jiang Zemin and King Birendra of Nepal over the last 12 months.

Tibet's economic links with Nepal remain important while Indian relations with the Chinese continue to be sluggish. Ninety per cent of Tibet's foreign trade is made up of exports to Nepal and border trade with Tibet has risen by an average of 14% per year in the past five years.

Tibet exports light industrial, electrical and mechanical products to Nepal, as well

as textiles, agricultural produce and livestock, according to a report by the semi-official Chinese news agency Zhongguo Xinhua She on 9th September.

Nepal is involved in 28 joint ventures and cooperative projects in Tibet, with a total investment of over 103 million yuan (\$12.5 million). However, Nepal has a large trade deficit with China: Nepalese exports to China were worth only US \$4.7 million in 1995, while imports worked out at around US \$57 million. During his November 1996 visit to Kathmandu, President Jiang Zemin urged his hosts to produce more marketable goods for export to Tibet as a means of trimming Nepal's trade deficit with China. In 1995, only about 37% of Nepal's trade with China involved the Tibet Autonomous Region.

66 Tibetan and Nepalese businesses took part in the Tibet-Nepal Trade Fair, held in Lhasa in September. The fair, which featured "100 products in 30 categories", was aimed at the expansion of border trade in the region, according to Xinhua on 15th September. The fair focused on attracting bilateral cooperation on projects such as the breeding and processing of edible fungi, and the production of cashmere wool, garments and nutrients.

Nepal is hugely vulnerable to Indian competition for trade with Tibet, but Beijing and New Delhi have still not settled a dispute over the trading post at Yadong, near Gangtok in Sikkim, India's point of access to Lhasa. The Sikkim-Yadong route would allow transit of goods between the port of Calcutta and Tibet in three to six days, potentially revolutionising Tibetan commerce. When Yadong was closed as a result of the Sino-Indian war of 1962 the annual volume of two-way trade between India and Tibet was about 330 million yuan (US \$36.7), according to a Xinhua report in August 1996.

The re-opening of Yadong is part of the China's current five-year plan for Tibet, but it remains closed despite frequent announcements that it is due to open.

Tibet Leaders to Visit Europe

TIN News Update/23 November, 1997 (part)

The Chinese government is due to send a high-level delegation from Tibet to visit London next week in order to improve Britain's understanding of Tibet and its history, but is reportedly facing tough conditions from the British authorities. The visit comes as further signs emerge of success by headline leaders in a power struggle in Lhasa.

The delegation will be headed by Ragdi, the Executive Deputy Secretary of the Tibet Communist Party and the highest ranking Tibetan in the Tibet Autonomous Region. Last week Ragdi declared public allegiance to the Tibet Party leader Chen Kuiyuan, who is unpopular because of his attacks on Tibetan culture and religion.

The delegation is also reported to have asked France and Germany for permission to visit, and a similar team under Gyaltsen Norbu, the Governor of the Tibet Autonomous Region, is due to travel to Spain, Portugal and Scandinavia.

The planned visit to London, due to begin on 2nd December, was announced on Friday night by the British Government, who said that the Chinese Embassy had not yet confirmed that the trip will go ahead.

London is understood to have said the visit can take place only if Ragdi agrees to meet a cross-section of organisations, including the two main pro-Tibet lobby groups in Britain and a group of British parliamentarians who support the Dalai Lama. A Foreign Office spokesman refused to comment on the reported conditions, which are believed to be unprecedented.

"The visit is still to be finalised," said the Foreign Office spokesman, who emphasised that Britain had not invited the mission and was not contributing towards its expenses. "If they are going to be here anyway, we offered to assist in arranging a programme for them and to set up meetings. As we regard it, this is an opportunity for us to express our concerns about the human rights situation in Tibet."

If the Chinese accept the conditions for the visit, Ragdi - whose name is transliterated by the Chinese as Raidi - will give a speech at the prestigious Royal Institute of International Affairs in London and will meet the junior minister at the Foreign Office, Derek Fatchett.

Provincial delegations from China usu-

ally travel as cultural or economic missions. It is unusual for a delegation to announce a purely political objective: here, the delegation's objective is to "spread understanding of the Tibet situation and history". "This is taking us into uncharted waters," commented one western diplomat.

The visit, which appears to be connected to a Hollywood feature film, "Seven Years in Tibet", which opened in London on Friday, reflects China's extreme sensitivity to historical issues. The film describes Tibet as an independent country and compares the Chinese advance on Lhasa in 1950 to the seizure of foreign territory by the Nazis ten years earlier.

Another major US film, Martin Scorsese's "Kundun", due to open in New York on 11th December, also presents Tibet as an independent country. Most previous high-profile western criticisms of Chinese policy in Tibet have focused on human rights issues rather than on historical questions.

First Tibet Delegation since 1948

Britain is central to China's concerns about its historical claim to Tibet because the British, who had treaty dealings with the Tibetans and a mission in Lhasa until 1947, accept Chinese "suzerainty" but have not formally stated that Tibet is part of China. "Our position and that of successive administrations is that Tibet is autonomous and that we recognise the special position of the Chinese authorities there," the Foreign Office said on Friday.

The last delegation from Tibet to visit Britain was in 1948, when a team of the ministers from the Tibetan Government, then headed by the Dalai Lama, was given a red-carpet welcome at Victoria Station and taken to Buckingham Palace to meet the King.

The 1948 delegation was also received by the Prime Minister at Downing Street and travelled on Tibetan passports, despite strong Chinese protests. Tibet was invaded by China two years later and the Dalai Lama's Government was disbanded after a failed uprising in 1959.

Ragdi, Cultural Revolution Survivor

"We have never stopped struggling against the Dalai clique since its armed rebellion in 1959 was put down. The way to fight, however, varies with different

stages," Ragdi said on 25th July this year, according to the magazine "China's Tibet". "We should publicise Tibet justly and forcefully," he said.

"Internationally, the Dalai separatist clique went all out to trumpet 'Tibetan independence' [and] because we didn't do enough in publicising our progress, many people overseas rate the fallacy as truth. This is why they wag their fingers at us, accusing us of 'violating human rights' and 'eliminating religion'," he said. "How to secure a foothold in the international public opinion arena by introducing Tibet to the world objectively became a very urgent task for us."

Ragdi, age 59, the son of a serf from the nomadic area of Nagchu in Northern Tibet, is only known to have travelled on foreign missions twice before - once to Romania in 1981 and once to Austria as part of an animal husbandry delegation in 1987.

He first rose to power with his appointment to the Tibet Revolutionary Committee in 1968, during the Cultural Revolution, a period when only leftists were promoted. Between 1979 and 1984 most Cultural Revolution leaders in China were replaced by more moderate leaders except in Tibet, where Hu Yaobang, then the Party General Secretary in China, said Ragdi could stay on because the Tibetans had "shown great affection for the revolutionary generation". The two had met at a Party Cadre School training course in 1975.

At least one of Ragdi's colleagues in the delegation also comes from Nagchu - Drubkhang Thubten Khedrub, a 42 year old lama who heads the Religious Affairs Committee in Nagchu and who has been rapidly promoted since 1995 as a public critic of the Dalai Lama.

The delegation from the Tibet Autonomous Region comprises seven persons and includes as its deputy leader Lhagpa Phuntsog, a vice-governor of the region and a former head of the Tibet Academy of Social Sciences. The delegation also includes two Chinese officials - Li Liguoguo, Secretary-general of the Communist Party in Tibet, formerly a leader of the Communist Youth League in Liaoning Province, and Ju Jianhua, a deputy director of Tibet's Foreign Affairs Department.

Tibet Delegation Cancels Visit after British Insist on NGO Meetings

TIN News Update/26 November, 1997 (part)

A delegation of senior Party officials from Tibet which had planned to meet journalists and Government ministers in London next week has cancelled its trip, according to the British Foreign Office.

The Chinese Government is understood to have refused to accept conditions imposed on the delegation's programme by the Foreign Office in London.

"We agreed to put a programme together which would include a full range of people to give opinions on Tibet," said a Foreign Office spokesman yesterday. "These were the terms in which we were going to help out with the trip. Finally we were told that the group would not be coming at all."

The British Government is understood to have insisted that the delegation include meetings with the All Party Parliamentary Group for Tibet, the Tibet Society, and the Free Tibet Campaign, but the Chinese side would not agree to the conditions.

The delegation was to have been led by Ragdi, an executive deputy secretary of

the Tibet Communist Party and the highest ranking Tibetan in the Tibet Autonomous Region, accompanied by four other Tibetans and two Chinese officials. In theory the officials could still visit the UK in a private capacity, but would not be offered any meetings with officials.

The conditions set by the Foreign Office for Ragdi's visit suggest a new and tougher line on the Tibet issue by the British government.

The delegation was reported to have plans to visit Germany and France, but the French Government said yesterday that it had received no official request for a visit.

The delegation is part of a drive by the Chinese authorities to improve their communications, and another delegation is believed to be due to visit Spain, Portugal and Scandinavia. In another attempt to present their point of view on the Tibet issue, the Chinese Embassy in London last night invited British journalists to view a ninety-minute TV documentary about the Dalai Lama. The programme, first shown in Hong Kong amid some

controversy this summer, includes footage of interviewees who include "serfs, prominent historians and the elderly", according to China Daily on 14th August.

"They tell the truth on how he [the Dalai Lama] was strictly trained according to Tibetan Buddhism to become a political and religious leader of feudal serfdom" and how "he afterwards followed a separatist path", said the newspaper. The Chinese authorities have also made the video available on the Internet.

The Tibetan Party official in charge of improving foreigners' views on Tibet also cancelled a planned visit to Europe this week. Du Tai, who is head of the External Propaganda Department of the Tibet regional Communist Party, was due to visit Switzerland this week but called off the trip for reasons which are unknown.

Earlier reports that Ragdi had not visited Europe since 1987 were incorrect. He accompanied Qiao Shi, at the time chairman of China's National People's Congress, and other Chinese officials on a 15-day trip to Germany, Austria and Switzerland in January 1994.

Tibet delegation visits Norway, Germany

TIN News Update/12 December, 1997

The Norwegian Government has held "constructive" talks with a senior delegation from the Tibet Autonomous Region. The delegation, which visited Norway from 6th to 9th December, is now travelling round cities in Germany on what the Chinese Embassy has described as an economic mission, and is expected to meet German ministers in Bonn next week.

The Tibetan delegation is led by the Governor of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), Gyaltsen Norbu, and includes his wife, three other Tibetans and three Chinese officials.

"It was extremely useful," Ingvard Havnen, spokesperson for the Norwegian Foreign Ministry said of the visit. "We held constructive dialogue with the delegation on the importance to Tibet of upholding its cultural and religious identity and other issues," he explained.

The visit was in return for Norwegian State Secretary Jan Egeland's trip to Tibet last April, and was intended to maintain

dialogue with China on subjects including the situation in Tibet, according to Janne Haaland Matlary, a State Secretary in the Norwegian Foreign Ministry.

"We presented a list of eight to nine political prisoners to the delegation, including details of the eight-year old Panchen Lama who has disappeared," said Matlary. "We wanted to have a dialogue about Tibetan culture, religion, and language - in other words, human rights," explained Matlary. "It seems as though the Chinese see human rights questions as more and more important for their reputation," he added.

"Tibetan-Chinese relations are perfect," Gyaltsen Norbu commented after the meeting, according to the Norwegian paper Aftenposten on 9th December. It was a lie that many Chinese have been moved to Tibet, he told the paper, adding that there had not been recent demonstrations in Lhasa against the Chinese or in favour of the Dalai Lama. "We are willing to talk with the Dalai Lama about

absolutely everything except Tibetan independence," the paper quoted him as saying.

A member of the Norwegian Parliament described a meeting between the Tibetan delegation and Parliamentarians as unsatisfactory. "Gyaltsen Norbu said there was complete freedom of speech and that 90% of Tibetans were happy," said Jirge Brende, a Member of Parliament and the head of its Tibet Parliamentary Committee. "We gave them a list of political prisoners, including Ngawang Sangdrol, Ngawang Choephel, and Chadel Rinpoche, but they denied that there were any prisoners of conscience in Tibet," he said.

The delegation told the Parliamentarians that negotiations with the Dalai Lama were not possible because he was still seeking full independence. "They said that the problem is the Dalai Lama still indirectly accepts people throwing stones at demonstrations," said Brende. Gyaltsen Norbu also told the MPs

that the delegation was not pleased about a group of pro-Tibet demonstrators who chanted slogans as the delegation went into the meeting.

In answer to a question from the Parliamentarians, the TAR Chairman said that the child recognised by the exiled Dalai Lama as the 11th Panchen Lama was "in China with his parents," according to the MP. "They said he was playing football just like any other boy. They couldn't tell us where he was because his parents didn't want others to know," said Brende.

The Chinese Embassy in Oslo had earlier turned down a request by the Norwegian Foreign Ministry for the TAR delegation to meet pro-Tibetan organisations in Oslo. Earlier this month the British Government ruled that a similar delegation from the TAR could visit only if it included meetings with pro-Tibetan organisations.

"A lot of people were very upset with the Minister for not following Britain's stand in insisting upon meetings with pro-Tibetan groups as the condition for a visit," said Brende. The Foreign Ministry denied that a separate meeting had been held for the Tibet Parliamentary Committee, as Brende described, and said that the delegation held a meeting with various Parliamentarians and not specifically for the Committee.

Gyaltsen Norbu was accompanied by his wife Yudon, listed as second in seniority in the delegation, which is believed to be the first political delegation other than cultural and economic missions to be sent from Tibet since the Chinese invasion in 1950. Communist Party officials, except at a very high level, rarely travel with their wives, and this is thought to be the first time that a provincial government leader has been allowed to take his wife abroad on an official visit.

Although Gyaltsen Norbu is officially the head of the delegation, the key official is believed to be Yang Zhikuan, a deputy director of the Foreign Affairs Department of the TAR. He is accompanied by Dondrub, a Tibetan vice-chairman of the TAR whose name is usually spelt Toinzhub by the Chinese, and by Wang Jiayu, deputy director of the TAR Department of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations, whose presence suggests that the TAR is hoping to increase investment and aid from Europe.

The delegation also includes a religious figure, Chara or Jiare Lobsang Tenzin, who is deputy director of the TAR Nationalities and Religious Affairs Commission, but who gave up religious life and training some years ago.

Choephel, Vice-Principal of Lhasa University, is also a member of the group.

Gyaltsen Norbu, who joined the Communist Party in 1956, is a former head of the Public Security Bureau in Chamdo, who later became head of Intelligence and of the Procuracy or Prosecution Service in the TAR. Besides being the highest government official in the region, he is the second of the three executive deputy secretaries of the TAR Communist Party and an alternate member of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee.

"We should educate the broad masses of the people to further see through the Dalai's reactionary features and to enhance their consciousness in fighting separatism", Gyaltsen said in his most recently monitored speech, which appeared in Tibet Daily on 19th November. "We should take a clear-cut stance in waging a tit-for-tat struggle, continuing to penetratingly expose and criticise the Dalai, stripping off his various masks, laying bare his reactionary nature and the darkness of feudal serfdom," he continued.

Norway Sponsors Cultural Projects

The delegation also met in Oslo with the Network for University Co-operation Tibet-Norway, an project that supports academic and cultural activity in Tibet. The Network incorporates the Lhasa City Atlas programme, which involves mapping the city of Lhasa, and the Cultural Heritage project, which documents old building in Lhasa and the surrounding area and works towards their preservation.

The Network was established in October 1994 following an agreement signed by the four universities of Norway with the Tibet Academy of Social Science, Tibet University, and the Science and Technology Committee of the TAR and also organises exchanges for Tibetan and Norwegian students in Oslo and Lhasa.

Two other organisations took part in the meeting which run projects as part of the Network programme, the Institute of Human Rights, a research organisation, and the Peace Research Institute, which has started a project of mapping Tibetan cultural civilisation in conjunction with the Beijing-based Chinese Association for External Relations.

In 1996 the Norwegian Foreign Ministry allocated 6 million Norwegian Kroner (£500,000) to the university Network for projects including the Lhasa City Atlas, a seminar on the Bon religion, various research projects, and scholarships for Tibetans to study in Norway. An

additional 1 million Kroner (£83,333) was allocated to the Peace Research Institute project, and a total of 11 million Norwegian Kroner (£91,666) was allocated to aid projects within Tibet including those of the Swiss Red Cross and Medecins Sans Frontieres.

Norway has a long-standing interest in international mediation and in April 1998 is sending its Foreign Minister Knut Vollebaek to lead a round table conference on human rights in Beijing. "The Foreign Ministry likes to see itself as pioneering new types of conflict resolution, but as with the Middle East, this is often done very quietly," commented Andrew Preston of the Norwegian Tibet Committee. The Norwegian Government also allows Tibetan exiles to broadcast a radio service in Tibetan from Oslo.

Argentina expresses support for Chinese policy on Tibet

A cultural delegation of "experts on Tibet studies" is currently visiting South American and the United States.

The delegation met Argentina's Secretary in charge of Religious Affairs this week in Buenos Aires and was told that the Argentine government "respects China's principled position regarding Tibet and absolutely will not support the Dalai Lama politically," reported Xinhua on 6th December, according to the BBC Monitoring Service.

The delegation told the Argentinian government that human rights are fully respected and protected in Tibet, and that "those who ignore this fact are people who either do not understand the real situation in Tibet or have ulterior motives," said Xinhua.

The delegation arrived in Argentina on 3rd December, and held meetings at the University of La Plata and Matansa University with Argentine experts and scholars in the fields of international relations and China, according to the Chinese news agency. The mission had already visited Chile and on 6th December continued to Brazil and the United States, where it will visit Los Angeles, New York, Boston and other cities.

The spokesman for the delegation was named in Chinese as Qunjie, a Tibetan described as vice-chairman of the Association for Cultural Exchanges with Foreign Countries in Tibet. This is possibly the same person as Choenjor, a member of the Discipline Inspection Commission of the TAR Communist Party, or as Choegyal, the deputy secretary of that Commission and until last year head of the TAR Foreign Affairs Department.

The delegation was led by Du Tai, a Tibetan who is the head of the TAR Communist Party's External Propaganda Department. However, the three scholars in the team were Chinese: Wang Hao, a Researcher at the Tibet Academy of Social Sciences and an expert on "relations between the Chinese Central Government and Tibet". Ren Yinong, a Professor at the Central Institute of

Nationalities in Beijing who is an expert on "Tibetan history and the serf system", and Li Guoying, a Senior Researcher at the Institute of Tibetology in Beijing who is an expert on nationalities and religions in Tibet.

Ren Yinong was the spokesman for the State Nationalities Affairs Commission in Beijing in 1990, and achieved notoriety at the time for refuting press reports in

March of that year that tanks had been deployed in the streets of Lhasa, at that time under martial law.

The distinguished Tibetan physician Khenpo Truru Tsenam was said to be travelling with the delegation for part of the journey but is currently on a brief private teaching visit to the UK.

Five Children Die in Tibet Escape Attempts

TIN News Update/14 January, 1998

Six Tibetans, five of them children, died in attempts to escape from Tibet last month after severe snowstorms hit the Himalayan passes, according to survivors who reached Kathmandu.

Five of the deaths occurred after a three day storm near Mount Everest in early December, trapping at least one group of refugees near the top of the Nangpa-la, the 5,700 metre pass used by most Tibetans trying to escape to Nepal. A sixth death occurred on 24th December when a second group had to walk through waist high snow to reach Nepal.

The first group, which consisted of 22 Tibetans, six of them children and seven of them women, had already crossed the Nangpa-la pass, about 100 km west of Everest, but were still high in the mountains when they were caught in the storm on 3rd December.

The group was unable to move during the three days of the storm and on day four began walking through the snow, by then over a metre deep, and chest high in places, according to survivors.

On 9th December, after walking for one and a half days, Ka-lo, an 10 year old boy, and a girl of the same age called Shilok died from hunger and exposure. Shilok's older sister, Phurbu Drolma, aged 11, also died. The bodies of the children were covered with blankets and left on the mountain.

On 10th December, three days after walking down from the pass, the group reached a small Nepalese village, but it was too late to save a fourth child, an 11 year old girl called Drolma, who died at about 1.30 that afternoon.

The children were being sent to Nepal in order to join schools run by the exile Tibetan government in India, and many of the older members of the group were hoping to join monasteries or nunneries in India. Between 400 and 500 children under 14 are sent illegally from Tibet each year to join the exile schools.

A 16 year old monk from Kandze in

eastern Tibet who was in this group also died shortly after crossing the mountain into Nepal. The monk, Sonam Tashi, died on 25th December while other members of the group were carrying him from the village of Khari-khola, 20 km south of Namche Bazaar, to a local hospital. One report said he had died because of exposure, but another source said the death may have been caused by acute appendicitis. His body was cremated at Nanthala, the village where he died.

Scotland, hired four porters to carry the girl, a 23 year old nun, to the hospital at Khunde, established by the mountaineer Sir Edmund Hillary near Namche Bazaar, 140 km north east of Kathmandu.

One of the tourists carried an 11 year old child, the youngest in the group to have survived, to the hospital about half a days' walk away. They then trekked after the rest of the group to help them contact local police, who arranged for horses to carry them to a nearby refugee camp.



Above, a group of Tibetans coming out of Tibet in January 1998.
In the background is Mount Everest

The remaining members of the group were given assistance by two British tourists who were trekking in the region. "While we were having tea in a restaurant a Tibetan girl came and sat next to us," said one of the tourists, who asked not to be named. "She took off her shoes and showed us her feet, which were badly frost bitten. When the others arrived we saw that some were in a worse condition than her," he added.

The couple, both from Edinburgh in

They later flew the refugees to Kathmandu, where they arrived on 29th December.

The surviving members of the group were given treatment for frostbite in Kathmandu. On 1st January, one of the group, a 22 year old man called Taga from eastern Tibet, had both his legs amputated just below the knee, in a case described by one specialist as "the worst I have ever seen".

Two men from the group in their twenty-

ties have already had their toes amputated on one or both feet, and three others are expected to lose toes or part of their feet. The refugees had been wearing thick clothes but, like most of the refugees, had only light footwear or running shoes.

2 Year Old Child Dies, 21st December

A sixth death was reported by a group who reached the first settlements in the Nubri area of Nepal, 130 km north-west of Kathmandu, on 24th December. The group, which consisted of 26 Tibetans, was given shelter by locals in the village, but said that a 2 year old child had died from the cold three days earlier, just after they had crossed the pass, when they had been walking through waist high snow.

"On the morning of 25th December two Tibetans came to the house where we were staying and asked for medicine for frostbite," said Hyoung Woo Kim, a 29 year old mountaineer from Korea who was in the village after completing an attempt on Mount Manaslu, an 8100 metre peak. "We went to see the group, and one man and two of the women had

frostbitten feet and toes", he said.

The Koreans and a local Sherpa arranged for the three frostbite cases and two others to be flown with them by helicopter to Kathmandu, after one member of the team offered to give up his place and to arrange for the team's equipment and supplies to be offloaded from the helicopter and carried instead by foot to Kathmandu.

Tashi Tsomo, a 14 year old girl from Eastern Tibet who was among those flown to Kathmandu, is expected to lose all the toes on her right foot, and a boy from the same area will lose some of his toes, according to reports from the city.

The rest of the group arrived in Kathmandu, where the UN arranges safe passage for refugees to join the exile Tibetan community in India, on 2nd January. "What else could we do but help them?" said Mr Kim, one of the Korean tourists. "They look like us Koreans, we share the same ancestors, and we were all very worried about them," he said.

Mr Kim praised local Sherpas for going out of their way to help the refugees, and the British tourists also described the local

police in Khari-Khola as conscientious and helpful.

The police in Kathmandu hand over Tibetan refugees to the local office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, which allows those whom it considers to be genuine cases of concern to travel on to India. There are frequent reports of refugees being harassed or having to pay bribes to police in border areas, and in one case last November eleven Tibetans were repatriated by Nepalese border guards after they refused to pay a bribe of 20,000 rupees (c.US \$3,200). However, an increasing number of recent reports describe Nepali police as co-operative.

Over 2,200 Tibetan refugees arrived in Nepal last year, nearly half of them in the last three months. About 500 of the arrivals last year were children under 14 sent from Tibet to join exile government schools or monasteries in India; about 1,000 were monks or nuns. The number of escapees increases in the winter months after the harvest is completed, apparently because there are fewer guards on the borders during the winter months.

Chinese and Foreign Press on Diplomacy and Foreign Affairs

Summaries of selected articles from the Chinese and foreign press concerning diplomatic events and foreign affairs relating to Tibet during 1997. The date at the head of each item shows when the article was published or broadcast in China; the date in brackets at the end of each item indicates when the article was published in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts.

17th March

Gyatso, deputy chairman of the TAR People's Government, met with Mali, the French Ambassador to China, in Lhasa. Mali and his party paid an official visit to the TAR from 12th March to the 18th March (Tibet Daily, 18th March)

17th April

Puqung [Buchung], vice-chairman of the TAR Regional People's Congress, met with a delegation from the Nepalese parliament to discuss their relationship. Puqung described China and Nepal as "close neighbours that have a traditional friendship". Anand, the leader of the Nepali delegation, said that China was its most important neighbour and that "the Nepalese government considers Tibet to be an inseparable part of China and forbids any anti-China activities on its soil", according to Xinhua (SWB 17th April).

18th April

"We're willing to accept Dalai and hope he will return to the motherland so long as he stops activities of splitting the motherland and seeking independence," said Sun Qiwen, vice-chairman of the TAR Government, in a meeting with Jan Egeland, state secretary in the Norwegian Foreign Ministry. According to Xinhua, Sun expressed his appreciation of the Norwegian government's stand that Tibet is an inalienable part of China. "People of all ethnic groups in Tibet are living and working in peace and contentment and they are the masters of their own affairs in every sense", Sun noted. The Norwegian delegation visited Buddhist monasteries and a prison in Lhasa [Drapchi], and held discussions with the Tibet Academy of Social Sciences [TASS], Tibet University, the Department of Transport and the Red Cross Society (SWB 21st April).

28th June

Ragdi, deputy secretary of the TAR Party committee, had a meeting with Israel's Ambassador to China, Mrs. Nannueling [Mrs. Ora Namir] and her party during her visit to the TAR (Tibet Daily, 30 June).

11th July

Gyalcan Norbu, TAR party deputy secretary and the chairman of the TAR government, answered questions from an Austrian press delegation in Lhasa on China's minorities policy and religious policy in the TAR, according to a Tibet Daily report from the 14th July (SWB 16th September).

1st August

Madeleine Albright, US Secretary of State, announced to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the US has decided to appoint a special co-ordinator for Tibet. The co-ordinator would maintain close contact with the reli-

gious and cultural leaders of the Tibetan people, said the All-India Radio report (SWB 2nd August).

5th August

Resident correspondents from Beijing from eight [foreign] news institutions interviewed Gyaltsen Norbu, chairman of the TAR, in Lhasa, according to Xinhua. Gyaltsen Norbu answered reporters' questions on aid provided by the central government and by various other provinces and municipalities to the TAR, and on the 11th Panchen Lama.

17th August

"The Dalai Lama's propaganda is untrue, and the propaganda by the West about the destruction of the Tibetan culture is totally inaccurate", concluded Stefan Barhon, editor of the German "Economic Weekly", during his visit to Tibet. He told Xinhua that what he saw and heard made him believe that "Tibet will develop even faster and better", and that while developing its economy the TAR would do an even better job in preserving its own traditional culture and would never lose what is valuable (SWB 22nd August).

18th August

Some media organisations in the West are "totally unaware of how Tibetan people live", said Mexican senator Gustavo Caravajal Moreno during his tour of the TAR. According to Xinhua, he had witnessed a happy population keeping pace with modern times and had said that the international community must acknowledge the fact that most Tibetan people support unification (SWB 19th August).

29th August

The Swiss Ambassador to China met with Ragdi, executive deputy secretary of the TAR Party Committee, during the visit to Lhasa of a Swiss delegation. Mr. Urs Ziswiler and his party were briefed on political, economic, educational and

religious affairs in Tibet. Ragdi denied Western reports of Chinese migration, genocide and religious repression and criticised the Dalai Lama's separatist activities. According to the Xinhua report, the Swiss ambassador said that he had formed a favourable impression of Tibetan affairs (SWB 20 August).

29th August

Ragdi was interviewed by a reporter from the Austrian National Television Service (broadcast by Tibet TV on 1st September). Ragdi answered questions on the conditions that must be met prior to negotiations with the Dalai Lama, and on cadres in Tibet holding religious beliefs (SWB 5th September).

30th August

Discussion about Tibet involves a basic stand, that is, Tibet is an inalienable part of China, Li Ruihuan, chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC, told a Swiss delegation that had just returned from Tibet. According to Xinhua, the delegation, led by Ambassador Urs Ziswiler of the Swiss Foreign Ministry, told Li about their impressions of Tibet's progress in sectors including the economy, education, health and population. Commenting on the issue of religion, Li said that "we are atheists and there are differences between atheists and theists, but such differences should not mean antagonism between people." He also said that both sides should learn from each other and exchange their views so as to avoid misunderstandings (SWB 1st September).

11th November

Tibet is an autonomous region of China, and Nepal is strongly opposed to its territory being used for activities against China, said Nepali Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa to Chen Muhua (vice-chairperson to China's NPC) during the latter's visit to Kathmandu. According to the

Xinhua report, Chen Muhua expressed her appreciation for this support and said that the Chinese government hoped for continued help from Nepal on this issue (SWB 12th November).

25th November

The upper house of the Australian parliament has recommended that Canberra establish a co-ordinator for Tibetan affairs, and has welcomed the appointment of a US Tibet co-ordinator during Jiang Zemin's recent trip to the States, said a Radio Australia report. (SWB 26th November).

27th November

"We strongly resent the fact that the Australian Senate passed an act designed to interfere in China's internal affairs," said Tang Guoqiang, China's Foreign Ministry Spokesman, with reference to the act demanding that the government appoint a special co-ordinator for Tibetan affairs. According to Xinhua, he said that the fact that Tibet was an inseparable part of China had been readily accepted by the international community, and that no country had the right to interfere in Tibetan affairs. He hoped that the Australian government would adopt effective measures to prevent Sino-Australian relations being damaged (SWB 28th November).

23rd December

The authors of the International Commission of Jurists report on Tibet are "extremely ignorant of the history and present state of Tibet", as well as the norms of international relations and international law, said Tang Guoqiang, a Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman, according to Xinhua. He said that China hoped that the ICJ would respect the general purpose and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and stop interfering in China's internal affairs (SWB 24th December).



